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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REVOLUTIONS
OF
PORTUGAL,

From the Foundation of that Kingdom
to the Year MDCLXVII.

WITH
LETTERS
OF
Sir Robert Southwell,

During his EMBASSY there,

TO THE
DUKE of ORMOND;

Giving a particular Account of the deposing
ALFONSO, and placing Don PEDRO on
the Throne.

LONDON,
Printed for JOHN OSBORN at the
Golden Ball in *Pater-noster Row.*

MDCCXL.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REVOLUTIONS
OF
FUGITIVE

From the Foundation of the Kingdom
to the Year 1000.



PREFACE.

NO relations are more favourably received by the world, than those which give accounts of revolutions in kingdoms; especially when those accounts are clear and instructive, founded upon authentic memoirs, or drawn up by persons, either immediately concerned in the management thereof, or eye-witnesses of the transactions they relate. Such is this account of the revolution which happened in the government of *Portugal* in the year 1667. given by Sir *Robert Southwell* in his letters to the then Duke of *Ormond*; from the originals whereof it is now publish-

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ed. Sir *Robert* was envoy extraordinary from King *Charles II.* to the Court of *Lisbon*, and present all the time that matter was in agitation; he was a man of knowledge, experience and judgment; and being a witness of every day's transactions, was perfectly well qualified to give a very particular and exact account of every step taken to bring about that revolution. This he has done more fully and satisfactorily in these letters, than is to be met with in all other writers on the subject: and the particular measures, by which it was effected, will undoubtedly afford a very agreeable entertainment to the reader.

Don Pedro, Infant of *Portugal*, was a Prince of little expectation and merit; vain, trifling, weak, arrogant, of a low mind and shallow understanding; but preserv-
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ing an exteriour air of gravity, which suited the *Portuguese*, governed by those about him; and assisted by the politick rather than honest Counsels of some discontented Noblemen, who had been discarded the Court and deprived of their employments, either by their suggestion, or out of his own inclination, he formed the design of deposing his elder brother *Alfonso VI*; and the measures, concerted for that purpose, were so well adapted to that end, in conformity with the constitution of a kingdom not much different from that of *England*, were so steddily pursued and so vigorously executed, that they got the better of all opposition. The design appeared plainly enough to the King and his Minister the Count of *Castelmelhor*; a very capable man, who really loved his country,

try, and whose ministry had been made illustrious by several compleat and glorious victories obtained over the *Spaniards*, which had re-established the affairs of *Portugal*, that were before in a low and sinking condition; but withall one, who had raised the envy of the world, and the resentment of the grandees against him, by grasping at too much power for himself, and treating others with an haughtiness which they thought insupportable. These were all the faults of the minister; yet being thereby rendered odious, it was impossible for him, with all his art and power, to traverse the measures taken for his ruin, and (what necessarily attended his fall) that of his master; who having been forced to give up his minister, and being gradually stripped of every

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every confident he had, when they saw he could no longer protect them, found himself at last utterly destitute of all friends or means of support, and was obliged to deliver himself tamely up into the hands of his enemies, and to resign the government to his brother.

What appears extraordinary in the circumstances of this revolution, and distinguishes it from all others, is that there was no previous general discontent in the kingdom; there was no perverting of justice or abuse of the law, no arbitrary councils and proceedings, no violence or corruption in the measures of the administration, no ill success in war, or miscarriages in publick affairs, no decay of trade or neglect of the publick good, to afford matter of complaint or fur-

nish a pretext of grievances; in a word, the body of the people were at their ease, not loaded or impoverished with taxes, nor labouring under any kind of oppression. In short there were not in the nation any of those dispositions which are usually preparatory to a revolution; but that the King by his affectation of debauchery, his mad pranks, impetuous temper, and wild extravagances, had rendered himself contemptible in the eyes of the world, particularly of the city of *Lisbon*, in which alone some persons had suffered from them, and these but few, though the dread thereof indeed extended to greater numbers; and the Duke of *Cadaval*, with some other Grandees and Noblemen of distinction, had been turned out of their posts and were on that occasion become malecontent.

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malcontent. These causes scarce appear sufficient to produce the effect which followed; yet the presumptive heir of the crown, in order to make his way to it before his time, putting himself at the head of those discontented and popular Noblemen, striking in with the leading magistrates of *Lisbon*, and making low court to the common people to engage them on any exigence in his favour, carried his point with an amazing facility; such as deserves well the serious attention of all Princes, and shews them by a remarkable instance, how easy it is, when a King has lost the esteem of his people, and his minister is become odious, for the next successor, supported by the interest of a few factious Noblemen, the concurrence of the magistrates of a city,

a city, the capital of a realm and place of the royal residence, and the bare acclamations rather than the rising of the inhabitants thereof, to overturn a government; even when there is no general aversion to it in the nation.

The revolution, which happened in the same kingdom in 1640. was brought about with greater suddenness, if not with the same facility; but there was a great difference in the means thereof, as well as in the circumstances of the nation. *Portugal* was at that time in subjection to a foreign Prince, who treated the country as if he did not think it his own, and impoverished it to supply the necessities of his other dominions. The manner of his government did not allow him to rely on the affections of his subjects

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subjects for support; but putting strong garrisons of *Castilians* into the fortresses and great towns to awe and intimidate the people, he depended on their force, and that of a standing army for his security. This was deemed a violence to the constitution, and generally resented as a grievance the most dangerous of all others to the liberties of the kingdom; and tho' it served for a time in a quiet season, till oppressions were multiplied to an intolerable degree, and the nation was reduced to the brink of ruin; yet then it failed the *Spaniard* in his greatest want, in the very first moment that his government was attacked. The fury of a people beggared, enslaved and desperate, as seeing no measure of their sufferings, nor any end of their miseries, broke out

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out at once, and like a mighty torrent bearing down all before it and overwhelming every thing that opposed its course, overturned in a day, almost in a moment, an usurpation of sixty years continuance. That revolution was evidently owing to the grievances of the nation; yet these, tho' the proper business of an historian to recount, as being the principal causes of the event, are not particularly represented by any one writer on the subject. It was not in truth to be expected from *Passerat* and others, who writ on the *Spanish* side, that they should dwell on such a representation as was likely to make the *Castilian* government for ever odious. But it was a province natural enough for the *Portuguese*: Yet *Antonio de Sousa de Macedo* and other writers on
their

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their side of the question, are much fuller in their arguments to support *John IV's* right to the crown, and in their relation of the circumstances of the enterprise on *December* the first, which restored the liberty and independency of *Portugal*, than they are in specifying the particular grievances of the gentry people and indeed all orders of men, which laid the foundation of that revolution, and made the whole nation join as one man to shake off a foreign yoke. *Avogaro Birago* says more on this subject than any other; but still less than it deserves; the rest only touch upon grievances in general, and content themselves with just mentioning one or two particulars, which struck most the particular fancy of the writer. I have therefore, after reading over

ver the various authors who have written on the subject of that revolution, either in *Latin, French, Italian* or *Portuguese*, drawn up in a more particular account of those grievances, which will make people wonder rather how the *Castilian* government subsisted so long, than how it came at last to be so easily overturned by the united efforts of the whole *Portuguese* nation to save themselves from imminent ruin.

The revolution in 1580, by which the crown of *Portugal* was united or subjected to that of *Castile*, was the effect of King *Philip's* power, and the disunion of the *Portuguese* Gentry; but there was likewise a pretence of right in the case. There were many writings published at that time to support the claims of the several candidates for the crown of
Portugal

Portugal after the death of Don Henry; but as they are too dry and voluminous to be read with pleasure, and are calculated rather to puzzle than clear the cause; and as the dispute about the right of succession may probably one time or other come to be revived, I thought it would not be amiss, after perusing all the treatises wrote on different sides of the question, to draw up a short but clear state of the case, and to represent the arguments for the right of each claimant in their natural force, and in such a manner as to render them intelligible to others, as well as to Civilians, who are almost the only persons that can judge of them in their original dress. In order hereto it was necessary to add a brief history of the succession of the crown: And as the reasons
here

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here mentioned were the chief motives for writing it, so these are the points mostly insisted on in the annexed preliminary discourse to Sir *Robert Southwell's* account of the revolution in *Portugal* in 1667.



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OF
PORTUGAL, &c.

THE Empire of the *Goths* in A. D. 711.
Spain had lasted near 300 years,
when, it being weakened by intestine wars, the never failing
consequences of violent usurpations and
disputed successions of a crown, an army
of *Moors* landed there; and having defeated
the tyrant *Roderick* in a bloody battle,
overran, and in the space of two years
subdued in a manner the whole kingdom.
The miserable remains of the *Goths* took
refuge in the mountains of the *Asturias*,
Gallicia, and *Biscay*; confiding in the
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natural strength of those places for the safety of their lives and liberties. *Pelagius*, a Prince of the blood royal, put himself at their head, made incursions into the lower country, recovered *Leon*, *Astorga*, and other towns from the enemy, and laid the foundation of the kingdoms of *Leon* and *Oviedo*. The divisions of the *Moors* allowed his successors to make further conquests; and new kingdoms were founded in *Navarre*, *Arragon* and *Castile*. The last of these, lying most advanced towards the enemy, increased continually in power, and soon overtopped the rest, by the reduction of the kingdom of *Toledo*; the capital whereof was taken by *Alfonso VI.* King of *Castile*, on May 25, 1085.

A. D. 1085.

This Prince was assisted in that important conquest by great supplies out of *France*, *Italy*, and *Germany*, either incited by a zeal for the Christian Religion to distinguish themselves in wars against the Infidels, or drawn from their own country by the prospect of rewards and the hopes of better settlements in another. *Alfonso*, to engage the stay of these gallant strangers, gave them great privileges and large possessions in his new conquests, which served as an encouragement for others to follow their example. Nor was he

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he long without having a further occasion for their service, and for the assistance of new bodies of strangers. The family of the *Almoravides* having drove that of the *Alavacines* out of *Africa*, *Joseph Miramolin* of *Morocco*, passed over from thence with a mighty army into *Spain*, and soon reduced all the *Moorish* Kings in this country to his obedience. To oppose so formidable an enemy, among other Princes invited by the King of *Castile*, his wife *Constance's* nephew *Henry*, fourth son to *Henry* Duke of *Burgundy*, who was grandson to *Robert* King of *France*, came with a body of *French* gentlemen to his uncle's assistance in *A. D.* 1089. *Alfonso* to reward his services, gave him his daughter *Teresa* in marriage, with the town of *Porto* and the territory about it, erected into the dignity of a County for her portion. 'Tis indeed a matter of dispute, whether this daughter was legitimate or no; but there can be none as to the validity of the grant, because *Porto* was a conquest made by *Alfonso* himself, who, leaving *Henry* to maintain it by his sword, made him likewise the empty grant of all the lands that he could recover from the *Moors* in *Portugal*.

Such was the original of the kingdom of *Portugal*. *Henry* being a brave and

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experienced

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experienced warriour, soon extended his dominions, and having routed the *Moors* in seventeen battels, took the towns of *Coimbra*, *Viseo*, and *Beira*, and entirely reduced all the country between the *Minho* and *Duero*, together with the province of *Tra los Montes*. Dying on Nov. 1, 1112, he was succeeded by his son *Alfonso* then an infant not above two years of age.

A. D. 1112.

This Prince inherited his father's valour as well as his territories: And having routed a prodigious army of *Moors* commanded by five of their Kings at *Ourique*, now *Cabeza de Reyes*, on July 25, 1139, was immediately upon his victory proclaimed King by his army in the field of battle. Two days after he was received as such at *Coimbra*, when he made his triumphal entry into that city. This title was said to be confirmed to him by Pope *Innocent II.* in A. D. 1142, and that he called the Cortes or States of his realm at *Lamego*, and was solemnly crowned by the archbishop of *Braga* in that assembly, where laws are also said to be then made for regulating as well the succession of the crown, as the civil government of the people. He afterwards, with the help of the *English* and other adventurers (who in their way to the Holy

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Holy Land touched upon the coast of *Portugal* and were easily persuaded to turn their arms upon the first Infidels they met with) took *Lisbon* by storm: And having reduced *Leiria*, *Alcasar de Sal*, *Santaren*, *Beja*, *Moura*, *Serpa*, *Evo-ra*, *Elvas*, and other places to the south of the *Tajo*, together with part of the *Algarves*, he died at *Coimbra*, on Dec. 6., 1185.

Sancho, the first of the name, succeeded A. D. 1185. ed his father *Alfonso* in the throne of *Portugal*, took *Silves* the capital of the *Algarves*, and having subdued the rest of that country, assumed the title of King of the *Algarves*, using it jointly with that of *Portugal*. He was, in the year 1211, succeeded by his son *Alfonso* II. surnamed *the Fat*, who died at *Coimbra*, March 25, 1223.

Sancho II. his eldest son, reigned from A. D. 1248. that time till A. D. 1248; in the beginning of which year he died at *Toledo* without issue, and was succeeded by his brother *Alfonso*, the third of the name; who having been divorced from his first wife *Mahaud* Countess of *Boulogne* and *Dam-martin*, (by whom he had no issue) married afterwards *Beatrice*, a natural daughter of *Alfonso* X. of *Castile*; and dying on Feb. 16, 1273, left *Denys* his eldest

son by this second wife heir of his kingdoms.

A. D. 1325. *Denys*, surnamed the *Father of his country*, died at *Santaren* on *Jan. 7*, 1325, after a reign of 46 years, and was succeeded by his only son *Alfonso IV.* called the *Hardy*, who died at *Lisbon*, *May 28*, 1357. Of four sons, which this *Alfonso* had by his wife *Beatrice of Castille*, none survived him but *Peter I.* who, after a reign of ten years, departed this life at *Estremos*, on *Jan 18*, 1367; leaving only one legitimate son, *viz. Ferdinand*; who succeeded him in the throne, and died at *Lisbon*, *Oct. 29*, 1383.

A. D. 1383. Upon the death of *Ferdinand*, great troubles arose in *Portugal*. He had left no issue male, nor any legitimate daughter, except *Beatrice*, who, though but ten years old, had about six months before been married to *John King of Castile*. She was at first proclaimed Queen in *Lisbon*; but when the same was attempted in other places, it was opposed by the people, who were utterly averse to the *Castilian* government. No other candidate for the crown as yet appeared. *Leonora* the Queen Dowager, and a considerable part of the nobility supported the interests of *Beatrice*: But others objected to her title, alledging that her parents were

were not lawfully married, and the their offspring ought in reality to be deemed a bastard, for that reason. *Ferdinand* had at the peace of *Alcouchin* engaged to espouse *Leonora* daughter to *Henry* King of *Castile*; but falling in love with *Leonora Tellez* wife of *Lorenzo d'Acunha*, took her away from her husband, and causing their marriage to be declared null (under pretence of its being contracted without a dispensation for that relation which was between the parties) married her himself; upon which *Lorenzo*, to whom she had bore two children, was forced for the safety of his life to retire into *Castile*. *Beatrix* was the issue of this marriage, the circumstances whereof rendered the mother odious, and caused the daughter's legitimacy to be disputed.

Leonora had made use of her influence over the late King, to advance her relations and creatures, to great posts and dignities; which was another occasion of distaste. Of these, none had such an ascendant over her, or was so generally hated by the people, as *John Fernandez d'Andeiro*, Count of *Outram*, who being reputed her favourite, bore the odium of all the measures which gave offence in her administration. This man grown in-

solent with the Queen's favour, and elated with unmerited and unexpected power, had affronted *John*, natural son to King *Peter* by *Theresa Laurent*, and Great Master of the Order of *Aviz*: And was assassinated by him in the very palace of that Princess on *Dec. 6, 1383*. This act was highly applauded by the people of *Lisbon*, who thereupon called him *Regent* and *Defender of the kingdom*; and rising in great multitudes, fell upon such as favoured the *Castilian* cause, murdering many suspected to be of that party, and not sparing in their fury even *D. Martin* their Archbishop, whom they killed in the tower of the cathedral, whither he had fled for refuge. The Queen Dowager, resenting the murder of her favourite, and dreading some outrage on herself from the rage of the populace, retired from *Lisbon* to *Santaren*; from whence she pressed her son in law the King of *Castile* to come into *Portugal*, with an army, to assert his wife's right and authority.

The *Portuguese* were rather resolved to oppose the *Castilian* force, than agreed who they should set up for their King. A meeting of the nobility was held at *Lisbon* for adjusting the latter point; but nothing was concluded. *Peter I.* whilst he was only Prince of *Portugal*, had fallen

fallen desperately in love with *Agnes de Castro*; and lived with her as his mistress. His father fearing he should marry her, caused her to be assassinated in 1355, at A.D. 1355. *Coimbra*: Which irritated the Prince to such a degree, that he broke out into a rebellion; and after his coming to the crown, he put the assassins to a cruel death. It was also said, that he had in 1361 made a publick declaration that he had been married to *Agnes* at *Braganza*, six or seven years before; and that *Giles* Bishop of *Guardia* certified, he had performed the ceremony in private, whilst he was Dean of that Cathedral. However this matter was, two sons were born of that either concubinage or marriage, viz. *John* Duke of *Valencia Campos*, and *Denys*, from whom the Counts of *Villar* are descended. These were at this time in *Spain*; and the elder was kept close prisoner in *Toledo*, to prevent his setting up a claim to the crown of *Portugal*. The *Portuguese* however, in general, had their eye upon him, declared him their *Governour*; and the more to incense the people, painted him in irons upon their colours. His imprisonment incapacitated him to serve them in any manner, but by his name; and they still wanted a person to preside in their councils, and lead their armies.

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armies. *John* Great Master of *Aviz* embraced the opportunity offered, declared he was ready to expose himself for his country, and was thereupon declared Commander in chief of all their forces.

A. D. 1384.

King *John* of *Castile*, in the mean time raised an army, and in 1384 taking *Beatrice* along with him, entered *Portugal*, making himself easily master of *Guardia*, *Braganza*, and many other places. *Don Goncalvo Tellez*, brother to the Queen Dowager, held *Coimbra* with a strong garrison. The King marched thither with the two Queens, not making the least question of being readily admitted; but finding the gates shut against him, he began to grow jealous of the Queen Dowager's designs. It had been stipulated in the articles of marriage, that she should govern the kingdom till her daughter *Beatrice* had a son of age: But upon the King of *Castile*'s entering *Portugal*, it had been resolved in council, that she should resign the government to her son in law. It was not very agreeable to her to be thus stripped of all her power; and the notion thereof, with some other suspicious circumstances, confirmed King *John*'s jealousy to such a degree, that he sent her away into *Castile* to the monastery of *Tordesillas*. As she was odious to

to the people, it was imagined that her resignation would contribute to pacify the kingdom: But things took another turn, and there remaining no longer any shadow or appearance of being governed by a *Portuguese*, the people upbraided the Queen with perjury and breach of trust, and were the more inflamed, seeing themselves in danger of falling immediately under the *Castilian* yoke, which they mortally hated, and fancied had been in a great measure provided against, by the articles of marriage.

The King of *Castile*, not caring to lose time before *Coimbra*, and imagining that the rest of the kingdom would soon follow the fate of the capital, resolved to invest *Lisbon*. The place was besieged both by sea and land, and was furiously attacked for five months together; but was so bravely defended by the Master of *Aviz*, that the *Castilian* despairing of success by force, desired a treaty, in order to an accommodation. This proving fruitless (for the Great Master would agree to no terms, unless he were left to govern the kingdom till *Beatrice* had a son of age to take upon him the administration) the autumn being far advanced, and sicknesses increasing so fast in his army, that 200 of the common soldiers died in a day,

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day, the King was forced to raise the siege, on *Sept. 3, 1384*; and to retire ingloriously into *Castile*; where he applied himself vigorously to the raising of new forces, and preparing of another fleet, to make, in the spring following, a second attempt for the reduction of *Portugal*. The Great Master in the mean time recovered several places that had been taken by the enemy, and obtained several advantages over the *Castilian* forces.

This success raised his reputation, and gained him the affections of the people. He was likewise handsome in his person, generous, affable, familiar, and had many other good qualities, that seemed to make some amends for the defects of his birth. He was embarked himself beyond a possibility of retreat; and it behoved him to engage others under the same necessity, lest they might be tempted, by such offers as would infallibly be made them, to desert their party. It was absolutely necessary to chuse a head, for the more perfect union of the *Portuguese* among themselves, and for the better executing their measures against the common enemy. There was as yet no competitor against the Great Master, and delays might produce occasions for new difficulties. For these reasons a resolution was taken to

to call an assembly of the Cortes at *Coimbra*. They met accordingly at *Easter* in the *Franciscan* Convent of that city, and unanimously chose the Great Master of *Aviz*, who was proclaimed King of *Portugal*, by the name of *John I.* on *April 6, 1385.*

This new Prince immediately took the field, at the head of an army, recovered *Guimarens* and *Braga*, and carried *Ponte-Lima* by storm. *Nunno Alvarez Pereyra*, founder of the house of *Braganza*, routed the *Castilians* at *Acoleiros* and *Trauco-so*; and was honoured with the dignity of Constable of *Portugal*. The King of *Castile* entered the kingdom with a powerful army; his fleet at the same time committing horrible ravages on the sea-coast. His first attempt was on *Elvas*; but he was obliged to raise the siege, and quitting *Alentejo* fell into the province of *Beira*, took *Cillorico*, marched to *Coimbra*, the suburbs whereof he burnt, and then invested *Leiria*. The King of *Portugal* with 10000 foot, and 2200 horse, making scarce a third part of the enemies numbers, advanced to raise the siege, as far as the plain of *Aljubarata*. There the two armies meeting, a bloody battel ensued, fought with great obstinacy, and various turns of fortune, but in which
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at last by his own valour, and good conduct, rallying his men when they gave ground and were ready to fly, the *Portuguese* Prince gained a compleat victory with the slaughter of 10000 *Castilians*, among which were many persons of great quality. This decisive battel was fought on *August* 14, 1385; and the success of it made *Santaren* and all the other towns in *Portugal* submit to the conqueror, who then in his turn entered *Castile*, burning and destroying the country. The war continued with various success till 29 *Nov.* 1389; when a truce was made for six years on terms advantageous to *Portugal*. The King of *Castile* dying the year following without any issue by *Beatrix*; and his successor having no pretensions to the crown of *Portugal*, the truce was renewed for fifteen years, and *John I.* remained peaceable master of the kingdom.

A. D. 1433.

This Prince dying at *Lisbon*, on *Aug.* 14, 1433, was succeeded by his son *Edward*, who did not long enjoy the crown; changing this life for a better, on *Sept.* 9, 1438, and leaving behind him two sons, viz. *Alfonso V.* King of *Portugal*, and *Ferdinand* Duke of *Viseo*. *Alfonso*, surnamed *the African*, from his conquests of *Arzilla*, *Alcazer*, *Tanger*, and other places

places in that country, dying on *Aug.* 28, 1481, was succeeded by his only surviving son *John II.* surnamed *the Great* and *the perfect Prince*. He was certainly a man of singular wisdom, resolution, and magnanimity, perfectly versed in politicks, and of a wonderful application to business, and the affairs of his kingdom; generous in his temper, yet a frugal manager of his revenue, a severe but excellent governour, and a great encourager of agriculture, arts and commerce in his dominions. * He was so careful to protect the merchants, and secure the freedom of commerce, that some *French* vessels having plundered a *Portuguese* Caravelle coming from *Mina*, he ordered immediately all the *French* ships in the ports of *Portugal* to be seized and detained till satisfaction should be made for the depredation. *Charles VIII.* King of *France* ordered the plunder to be restored, punished the authors of the depredation severely in the sight of the world, and made excessive compliments to the King of *Portugal*, who was so stiff in this matter, that finding at last only a parrot wanting of all that was taken out of the Caravelle, he would not release the *French*

* Vie de Jean II. l. 5. p. 249.

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ships till the parrot was restored. This stiffness he conceived was due as well to his own reputation in the world, which is the life and soul of a Prince's authority, as to the security of a free and extended commerce; which he considered as the chief foundation of the riches and strength of the kingdom. It was out of this latter consideration, that he established considerable settlements on the coast of *Guinea*, and in the empire of *Congo*; that he discovered the *Cape of good Hope*, and made preparations for conquests in the *East* and *West Indies*. But being taken off by death, on Oct. 25, 1495, without any surviving legitimate issue, he left his schemes to be executed by his successor, *Emanuel* son of *Ferdinand* Duke of *Viseo* beforementioned.

A. D. 1495.

Emanuel, surnamed *the Great*, lived in peace with all christian Princes; and employing his arms only against the Infidels made considerable conquests in *Barbary*. It was in his time, that the country of *Brasil* in *America* was discovered and possessed by the *Portuguese*, the Isles of *Ormus*, *Ceylon*, and *Madagascar* annexed to their dominions, the towns of *Mulaca* and *Goa* taken, and other great acquisitions made in the *East Indies*. There scarce passed a single year but

but this Prince fitted out a fleet on some important expedition or other, in those remote parts of the world; so that in fine he made himself master, in a manner, of all the sea coasts from the Streights of *Gibraltar* to the Seas of *Arabia*, *Persia*, and the *Indies*, as well as of a good number of Islands and Kingdoms. Hence he assumed, and annexed to his other titles, that of *Lord of the Conquests, Navigation and Commerce of Æthiopia, Arabia, Persia, and the Indies*, and drew from those parts vast quantities of gold, silver, and merchandise, to the enriching of his subjects, and aggrandizing of his own power. It is certain the kingdom of *Portugal* never made so glorious a figure, as in the reign of this King, who died on *December 15, 1521*. He A. D. 1521. first married *Elizabeth*, eldest daughter of *Ferdinand the Catholick*, King of *Arragon*, and of *Isabel*, Queen of *Castile*; and had by her a son named *Michael*, who after having been proclaimed Prince of *Castile*, *Arragon*, and *Portugal*, and declared heir to all those crowns, died at *Granada*, *July 19, 1500*. *Elizabeth* dying at the birth of this son, *Emanuel* married her younger sister *Mary* (the third daughter of *Ferdinand*) by a papal dispensation; and had by her seven sons

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and three daughters. The sons were
 1. *John III.* King of *Portugal*, who succeeded his father. 2. *Louis* Duke of *Beja*. 3. *Ferdinand* Duke of *Guarda*. 4. *Alfonso*, Archbishop of *Lisbon*, and Cardinal. 5. *Henry*, who was first a Cardinal, and then quitting the purple, succeeded to the crown upon the death of his nephew *Sebastian*. 6. *Edward* Duke of *Guimarens*; and 7. *Antonio*. All these survived their father, except the last, who expired the very day he was born, viz. Sept 19, 1516. The three daughters were, 1. *Isabel*, married to *Charles V.* Emperor of *Germany*, and King of *Spain*. 2. *Beatrix*, married to *Charles* the third of that name, Duke of *Savoy*; and 3. *Mary*, who died an infant. *Emanuel*, after the death of his second wife, married in 1518, *Leonora* of *Austria*, eldest sister to the Emperor *Charles V.* Of this marriage were born a son named *Charles*, who did not live two years; and a daughter called *Mary*, who having never been married, dyed in *A. D.* 1578.

A. D. 1521. *John III.* King of *Portugal* applied himself to maintain his Father's conquests in the *East-Indies*; and even made new ones there by his Generals; but thought fit to abandon most of those in *Barbary*, as too chargeable to be maintained against

against the vast armies, and continual attacks of the *Moors*. Thus *Arzilla*, *Alcazar*, *Zamor*, *Zafi*, and other places, being demolished, he reserved nothing in that country, but *Ceuta*, *Tangier*, and *Mazagan*. He married *Catharine* (the youngest sister of *Charles V.*) who brought him six sons, viz. *Alfonso*, *Emanuel*, *Philip*, *Denys*, *John* and *Antonio*; and three Daughters, *Mary*, *Isabel*, and *Beatrix*. The two youngest daughters died in their infancy; as did all the sons, except *John*; who lived to his seventeenth year, and dying in his father's life time, on Jan 2, 1554, left his wife *Jane* (second daughter of the Emperor *Charles V.*) with child, who was a few days after delivered of a son named *Sebastian*. *Mary* the eldest daughter, was married to *Philip II.* King of *Spain*; but about a year afterwards died in child-bed four days after she had been delivered of *Don Carlos*, as unfortunate in the exit of his own life, as his birth had proved to his Mother.

John III. dying of an apoplexy on A. D. 1557. June 1, 1557, was succeeded by his grandson *Sebastian*, then not full three years and an half old. During this young Prince's minority the regency was for the first three years in the hands of his

grandmother the Queen Dowager *Catharine*; but she, at the end of that term resigned it to his great-uncle Cardinal *Henry*. The age of majority in Kings, is, by the constitution of *Portugal*, the same there as in *France*; so that at fourteen, *Sebastian* took upon himself the government of his kingdoms. Princes are generally worse educated than any persons whatever, within their dominions; having seldom any about them, but such as make it their business to humour and flatter them, in order to gain their good graces. The young King had naturally good dispositions; but they were spoiled in his education, which was committed to the Jesuits, who took no care to form his mind. As to his body, he was strong and vigorous, yet so sober, temperate, and so very continent, that many suspected him to be impotent, and that this was the reason why he did not marry. He was generous, brave and intrepid, but hasty, positive, and impetuous in his temper, rash and inconsiderate, fond of dangers for their own sake, breathing nothing but war, ambitious of glory, and full of that vain confidence to which the *Portuguese* are so naturally inclined. The Jesuits had inspired him with a wonderful
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zeal for religion, and had filled his head with the glorious conquests, and heroick exploits of the *Portuguese* in *Africa*, and the *Indies*, during the reigns of his ancestors, who had thereby acquired the glory, not only of enlarging their dominions, but of propagating the Christian Faith to the uttermost parts of the Earth.

These notions fired *Sebastian* with an impatient desire of distinguishing himself above any of his predecessors, and of making greater conquests in those parts of the world, in his own person, than they had done by their generals. His first thought was to pass over with an army into the *East-Indies*; where *Goa* and *Chaul* were in the year 1572 besieged, the one for six months, the other for nine, by several monarchs of those parts, with prodigious armies; but so gallantly defended, that after various attacks, in which the enemy was always repulsed with great slaughter, the sieges of both were raised. Queen *Catharine*, Cardinal *Henry*, and the Jesuits diverted him from this romantick design, not so much by the force of reason, as by managing his passions and persuading him rather to turn his arms against the *Moors*, who had a few years

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before besieged the town of *Mazagan* in *Barbary*, tho' without success. They talked to him so long upon this subject, that he resolved upon the enterprize, and it was not in their power afterwards to dissuade him from it, by any consideration they could offer. He resolved first to take a view of the country; and in 1574, passed over with a few troops into *Africa*, visited *Tangier* and *Ceuta*, exposed his person needlessly in small skirmishes with the *Moors*, and then sailed back to *Lisbon*, fully determined to return soon with a mighty army. In vain was it represented to him, that the conquests formerly made in that country, had been found by experience not worth the keeping; he was so bent upon the expedition that he thought of nothing but preparations for it, and was so violent therein, that scarce any body durst advise the contrary; being sure either of incurring his displeasure, or of remonstrating to no purpose.

There happened soon after an incident, which flattered and confirmed him in his resolution. *Muley Mahomet* Emperor of *Morocco*, being drove out of his dominions by his uncle *Muley Moluc*, and having solicited the Court of *Madrid* for succours without effect, applied
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to King *Sebastian* for assistance, promising him mighty matters, and giving confident assurances that his uncle's troops would desert to him, as soon as he could appear at the head of an army in the field. The opportunity seemed favourable; and not to lose the benefit thereof, *Sebastian* sent to *Italy* and *Germany* to raise forces. He desired a conference with King *Philip* of *Spain*, at *Guadaloupe*, in order to engage him heartily in the design, to procure from him a body of veteran *Spanish* troops, and to consult of measures for its execution. They met; *Philip* promised him a succour of 5000 men, encouraged him to proceed in the enterprise, but dissuaded his going in person; a step which *Muley Mahomet* also opposed, as fearing either that *Sebastian*, if he conquered *Morocco*, might be tempted to keep it to himself, or that the *Moors*, his friends, might be deterred from deserting to him, out of a jealousy, that the King of *Portugal* coming in person intended not so much the service of the dethroned Prince, as to make an entire conquest of their country.

Sebastian however continued firm in the purpose of exposing his own person; though *Philip* excused himself from

sending the succours he had promised; and the levies in *Italy* failed for want of money. The clear annual revenue of the crown of *Portugal* did not exceed two millions of Ducats, and was much too scanty to defray the constant expenses suggested by the vanity of a young Prince, who spent a million of Gold in the trappings and furniture of a single horse. By such extravagances the treasury was become empty; so that to provide a fund sufficient for the charge of so great an enterprise, extraordinary methods were used. The nobility and gentry, in violation of their ancient privileges, were now charged with taxes, from which they had ever before, in all the necessities, and even extremities of the state been free; but this was so strongly opposed, that the scheme was dropped. The gabel on salt was raised; new imposts were laid upon other things, to the great discontent of the people; 225000 ducats were levied upon the new Christians for a privilege, that their effects might not be liable to be seized by the Inquisition; and the Pope having granted a crusado, 150000 ducats were contributed by the clergy. Commissions were issued out for raising 10000 foot, they rendezvoused at *Lisbon*, all of them in a manner,

manner raw men, that had never been in action, and commanded by officers full as unexperienced; so that there was scarce an old soldier to instruct them how to perform their exercises. Hence nothing but confusion was to be seen in the camp; abundance of useless things, whilst there was a want of necessaries; plenty of rich cloaths, sumptuous furniture, and pompous equipages, when the soldiers were perishing for hunger; no discipline in their conduct, no order in their preparations, and no proper care about their stores and provisions.

This was a melancholy scene to those who wished well to their country, and whose relations were to embark in the expedition; yet great numbers of the nobility and gentry engaged in it at their own expence, and more would have done so, but for a very unpolitick order of *Sebastian's*, who out of an opinion that the *Moors* would certainly outdo him in horse, thought to ballance that advantage of theirs by the superior strength of his foot, and therefore forbad every body to carry over with him an horse, without leave. By this means, instead of increasing his infantry, he only lessened his cavalry; abundance of persons not caring for the fatigue of foot marches and service

vice, in a hot climate, and in the fultriest season of the year, and on that account declining the expedition, wherein they were otherwise ready to engage. A few old soldiers were privately raised in *Spain*, and six hundred *Italians* levied by the Pope, but paid by the King of *Spain*, for an attempt upon *Ireland*, under the command of *Thomas Stukeley*, touching at *Lisbon*, were persuaded to take service. Another reinforcement of 3000 *Germans*, sent by *William*, Prince of *Orange*, arrived there about the same time: And for a further encouragement, and hastening the expedition, *Arzilla* was upon an order from *Muley Mahomet*, delivered by the *Moorish* Governour into the hands of the *Portuguese*.

On June 25, 1578, *Sebastian* set sail from *Lisbon*, intending to land at *Larache*; but as he was irresolute in all his measures, he touched at *Arzilla*, and after lying some time at anchor off the place, debarked his army, which consisted of 13000 foot, and 1500 horse. The inhabitants of *Tetuan*, *Larache*, and other towns on the coast, were so terrified at the news, that they were on the point of abandoning those places. They actually carried away their goods and families to the mountains; but had time
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to recover from their consternation, by the King's loitering twenty-five days under the walls of *Arzilla*, without advancing further into the country. At last it was resolved to march to *Larache*, not by sea, which was the safest and easiest way (as the wisest in the council of war, and *Muley Mahomet* advised) but by land, where they were sure to be harassed by the excursions of the enemy, and to be exposed to the difficulties of passes and rivers, as well as to terrible inconveniences for want of provisions. *Sebastian* was fond of this way, because it afforded him an opportunity of appearing at the head of his army, and of acting the General: It was this motive, together with the contempt he had of the enemy, that made him deaf to all advices given to the contrary. He left *Arzilla*, on *July 29*, and on the fifth day of his march, having passed the river *Mucazena*, he received the first certain account of *Muley Moluc's* being advanced to *Alcazar-quivir*, with 40000 horse, 8000 foot, and a great number of light *Arabs*, and volunteers.

The next day, *August 4*, the two armies joined battle. The first line of the christian foot, composed of the *Spaniards*, *Germans*, *Italians*, and the *Portuguese* volunteers

volunteers, at the head of which the King charged in person, pushed the *Moors* with so much vigour, that above 2000 of them fell on the plain. But the want of order, the jealousy between troops of different nations, and the slowness of the *Germans* defeated all the use that might have been made of that advantage, and allowed *Muley Moluc* time to redress the disorder of his men, and reinforce them with new supplies, which rendering them superior to the christians, these were overpowered, and all cut in pieces; the other two lines that ought to have supported them, and were composed of the new raised *Portuguese*, not advancing to their relief, but flying without striking a stroke. The Duke of *Aveiro*, who commanded the cavalry of the right wing, routed the enemies horse that opposed him; but as he was about to improve that advantage, he found himself attacked on the flank, and surrounded on all sides by other corps of the *Moorish* horse, so vastly superior in number, that he was forced to a precipitate retreat; and not finding the intervals of the battalions, fell foul on the *German* foot, putting all into such confusion, that there was no possibility of recovering from their disorder.

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The fate of the left wing was much the same, successful at first, but soon overwhelmed with the number of the enemies horse; which as *Moluc* had divided into several parties, the better to surround the *Portuguese* army on all sides, he had likewise disposed in such a manner as to make every party useful. The rout and confusion becoming general, the *Portuguese* fled they knew not whither, being unacquainted with the country. Great numbers made for the river *Mucazena*, which they had passed almost dry shod the day before, but the tyde being now in, it was become impassable, so that most of them were drowned; which was likewise the fate of *Muley Mahomet*. Of the whole army not above an hundred escaped; the rest were either killed, or taken prisoners by the enemy, or made slaves by the peasants of the country.

King *Sebastian* after having three horses killed under him, and shewing prodigies of valour, fell at last, either under the sword, or into the hands of the enemy. *Manuel de Faria de Sousa*, who was present in this engagement, says, that he being wounded, was taken prisoner by some of the light *Arab* horse, who killed him in cold blood, to put an

an end to a quarrel which arose among them about the honour and advantage of so great a prisoner. This was also attested by *Nunnez Mascarnnea*, who being taken and carried with other noble prisoners to *Muley Hamet's* tent, when the *Xerif* enquired of them what was become of their King, gave them the first account how his death had happened. But his relation was scarce over, when a great noise was heard about the tent, upon the King's body being brought thither, laid across a lean jade of an horse; which *Sebastian Resendi* being sent out to examine, found to be true. The corpse was afterwards carefully viewed, not only by this gentleman, but by *Constantine of Braganza*, *Melchior Amaral*, *Ferdinand de Castro* Count of *Basto*, *Edward de Meneses* Count of *Tarouca*, *Michael Noronna*, *Nunnez Mascareenna*, and others of the *Portuguese* nobility, that were taken, who universally acknowledged it to be that of King *Sebastian*. It was first interred at *Alcazar*; but *Muley Hamet* desirous of continuing the peace between his late brother *Moluc* (who expired during the battel,) and King *Philip* of *Spain*, sent it at the request of this Prince by *Andrea Corso*, to *Ceuta*. It was there on *December 4, 1578*, delivered

livered to *Denys Pereyra* Governor of the place, and *Roderic de Meneses*; a publick instrument being then drawn up in attestation thereof, and signed by *F. Roche*, *Edward de Castel-blanco*, *Michael Noronna*, *George de Meneses*, and *Louis Cefari*, There the body was kept till the year 1582, when it was, by the order of King *Philip*, carried to *Lisbon*, and buried in the monastery of *Bethlem*.

Though all this was publicly done, A.D. 1585. and univerfally known; yet a few years afterwards, there arose up two impostors, the one a native of the Isle of *Tercera*, the other of *Alcafova* in *Portugal*, pretending to be King *Sebastian*; but they were soon discovered to be such, taken and treated as their crime deserved. There was something more extraordinary in another, who appeared A.D. 1598, at *Venice*. The Senate, upon the complaint of the *Spanish* Embassador, put this man in prison, and commissioners were appointed to examine him. He was interrogated twenty-eight times, and his answers surpris'd every body. He gave them an account of the Embassadors sent by the state to King *Sebastian* whilst he was on the throne, the particulars of their treaties, and the dispatches returned; which was found agreeable to the memorials

morials thereof in their archives. But when they began to ask him only matters of curiosity, he would not answer a word more, and demanded to be shewed to the *Portuguese* and others that knew him. Dr. *Sampayo* a Jacobin, and other *Portuguese*, owned him for their King, and solicited his liberty. *Sampayo* went to *Lisbon*, and brought thence an instrument taken before an Apostolick Notary, containing all the marks of King *Sebastian*: But the *Venetians* would not take cognizance of the matter, unless required by some Prince or State. To remove this difficulty, Don *Christopher*, (younger son to Don *Antonio*, who claimed the crown on Cardinal *Henry*'s death) and *Sebastian Figuera* came to *Venice* with letters from the States General of the United Provinces, and P. *Maurice* of *Nassau*, desiring the affair might be examined. It appeared in the course of the man's examination, that his face and features perfectly resembled King *Sebastian*'s; he had the *Austrian* lip, the right hand longer than the left, the left side a finger longer than the right, twenty-five marks in different parts of his body well known to belong to that Prince, and scars in all the places where King *Sebastian* had ever received wounds. The chief difference

difference observed was, that this man had black hair, and was of a swarthy complexion; whereas *Sebastian* was fair, and his hair of a light colour; but this was accounted for by the travels that the impostor pretended to have made through the hottest parts of *Africa* and *Asia*, when being ashamed of having brought so terrible a calamity upon his country, by his own wilfulness and rashness, he chose upon his escape out of the hands of the *Moors*, to wander about the world, rather than appear in *Portugal*; nor was it surprising that such an alteration should happen in twenty years, when the same had happened to Don *Christopher* himself, upon a stay only of three years in *Barbary*.

In fine, the Senate ordered him to quit the dominions of *Venice* in eight days. The passages towards *France* being stopped by land, the impostor went to *Florence*, to get a passage by sea. The Great Duke delivering him up to the *Spaniards*, he was carried to *Naples*, put on board the galleys, sent to *Spain*, and imprisoned in the castle of *St. Lucar*, where he probably died, or was made away, it not being known what became of him afterwards. No danger that he was in, or treatment he received, could ever make him confess, that he was not the true *Sebastian*. He bore every thing
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with wonderful patience, and constancy; and during his confinement, lived with great austerity, and in a continual exercise of all the rites and duties of religion. The *Portuguese* in general, maintained that he was their King; but (as the *Spaniards* said) they would have taken a Negro for *Sebastian*, if they could by that means have got rid of the *Castilian* government: And the cases of the *Pseudo-Smerdis*, of *Martin Guerre*, as recorded in the journals of the Parliament of *Thoulouse*, and many other instances that may be produced, shew that there is often such a resemblance between persons, that, especially when they are not confronted, they may easily be mistaken for one another.

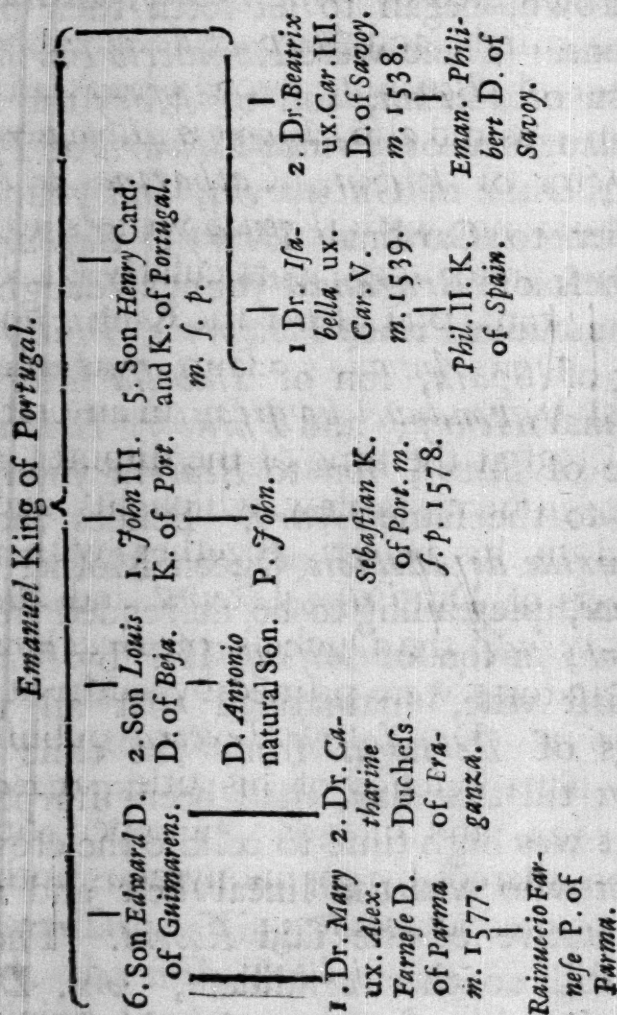
The death of King *Sebastian* caused a terrible consternation in *Portugal*; and was the source of an ocean of troubles to that kingdom, by leaving a disputed succession. The race of his grandfather *John III.* was now extinct (Don *Carlos* son of *Mary*, daughter of that King, and wife to King *Philip* of *Spain*, having been put to death by his father's orders on Jan. 18, 1568,) so that the crown devolved to the descendants of his grandfather King *Emanuel*. Cardinal *Henry*, the fifth son of this King was still living; and according to the right of his

his birth, was on *Aug. 28*, (twenty-four days after the battel of *Alcazar*) proclaimed King of *Portugal*: But as he was in his 67th year, and withall so very infirm, that if he should have taken a fancy to marry, there was no likelihood of any children, the several Princes of *Europe*, who could lay any claim to the crown, began to set forth their pretensions. These were *Rainuccio Farnese*, Prince of *Parma*, son of *Mary* the eldest daughter of Prince *Edward* of *Portugal*, Duke of *Guimarens*, and younger brother to Cardinal *Henry*; *Catharine* Duchefs of *Braganza* younger daughter of the same Prince *Edward*; *Philip II.* King of *Spain*, son of *Isabella* sister of Cardinal *Henry*; and *Philibert Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, son to *Beatrix* younger sister to the same *Henry*. Besides these, *Catharine de Medicis* Queen Mother of *France*, pretending to be descended from *Robert*, a son of *Alfonso III.* by *Maud* his first wife, maintained that all the Kings of *Portugal* from the time of *Denys* till that day, had been usurpers, and it was high time to restore the crown to her who was the lineal heir and representative of the said *Robert*. There was still another candidate, *viz.* Don *Antonio* Prior of *Crato*, the chief of the order of the Knights of *Malta*, within

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the territories of *Portugal*, natural son of Don *Louis* Duke of *Beja*, elder brother to Cardinal *Henry*, and second son to King *Emanuel*. It may not perhaps be improper to represent all the descendants of this *Emanuel*, (under whom most of these claimed) in one view to the reader.



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The most eminent Civilians and Canonists in *Europe* were consulted on this occasion, and published their opinions in favour of different pretenders. Those of the universities of *Padua* and *Bononia*, wrote for the Prince of *Parma's* right; those of *Coimbra* and *Perugia* for *Catharine* of *Braganza's* title; those of *Salamanca* and *Alcala de Henares*, which were consulted by King *Philip*, answered to his mind; and *Michael de Aguerre* a Doctor of *Bononia*, wrote a book in his favour; as did also *Alfonso d'Albuquerque* a Doctor of *Lisbon*. *Catharine de Medicis* did not want *French* writers to set out her pretensions; particularly Dr. *Pelletier*, and *Peter Belloy* the King's advocate. Don *Antonio's* claim was maintained by *Emanuel Fonseca*, in an oration published at the time of the dispute; and the arguments in law which his agents urged in his behalf, together with the answers of Dr. *Felix Texeira* and *Alonso de Lucena*, the Duchess of *Braganza's* procurators, were printed by authority at *Almerin*. Dr. *Joseph Texeira* published likewise a defence of his title, at *Paris* in 1582; and in 1585, another vindication thereof by an anonymous author, was printed at *Leyden*.

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Don *Antonio* was the son of *Louis* Duke of *Beja*, by his concubine *Yolande Gomes*, surnamed *the Pelican*, on account of her incomparable beauty; a woman of mean birth, who after a continued cohabitation of several years, left him at last, and retired in his life-time to the convent of *Bernardine* Nuns at *Almoſter*, where ſhe died an exemplary penitent. Don *Louis* had never owned her for his wife: And when he died in the neighbourhood of *Lisbon*, on Nov. 27, 1555, he left by his will Don *Antonio*, whom he ſtyles his natural ſon, univerſal heir of all his goods, and eſtate. Notwithſtanding this diſpoſition in his favour, *Antonio* did not ſucceed to the Duchy of *Beja*, or the Lordſhips of *Moura*, *Serpa*, and other towns, which *Louis* had enjoyed as the appanage of a Prince of the Blood, and which therefore, in defect of legitimate iſſue, reverted to the crown. All the world indeed, for fifty years together, had ever looked upon him as a baſtard: And he owns in his apology to the Pope, that he had always conſidered himſelf as ſuch, till after his return out of *Africa* in 1578. He had attended King *Sebaſtian* in that unfortunate expedition, and was preſent at the battel of *Alcazar*. Being in the rout of the
army

army taken by the country people, he concealed his name, and insinuated himself so far into the good graces of those who had taken him, that after forty days captivity, they convoyed him to *Arzilla*, and set him at liberty. He soon got a passage from thence to *Lisbon*; where he found Don *Henry* on the throne, and the whole kingdom under terrible apprehensions of the miseries that were soon to attend them from the disputes about the succession, and from the danger of their falling under the *Castilian* yoke. In this juncture it was suggested to him, that his mother was actually married to Don *Louis*, and that witnesses would be found to prove the marriage. Hereupon he set up a claim to the crown, founded on his pretended legitimacy, and a supposition of the said marriage.

The advocates for *Catharine de Medicis*, urged, that being descended from the eldest son of *Alfonso III.* by his first wife *Maud*, she was the rightful heir of the crown, which was vested in her by a lineal succession; and this being a right of blood, could not be destroyed by any act whatever, nor antiquated by any length of time. For though three hundred years quiet possession seems by *Judges ii. 26.* sufficient to affirm and

warrant a possessor's claim, yet it was the unanimous sense of all lawyers, that in such case, great regard was to be had to the cause of the possession, and that a *possessor malæ fidei*, whose right was controverted, could never gain a title by prescription. But she could never shew, that the title of *Denys*, or any of his descendants Kings of *Portugal*, was ever controverted by *Robert*, or any descendant of *Maud*; or indeed that she had bore either *Robert*, or any other child to *Alfonso*. On the contrary, it appeared from *Maud's* will, and from many concurring testimonies of that age, as well as from other presumptions, that she died in *A. D.* 1262, without any issue by *Alfonso*.

The other candidates supported their pretensions by more plausible arguments. It was universally agreed, and in truth too clear to be denied by any of them, that the kingdom of *Portugal* was successive, and not elective. The main question was, whether it descended by a *lineal* succession, or by one that was simply *hereditary*, in the sense which the civil law affixes to this term. In the former case, the *proximior genere*, the nearest in blood to the first King (the *Genarcha* or *Progenitor* as the lawyers style

style him) the common ancestor of the family, always succeeds; in the latter, the nearest in blood to the last King on the throne, is usually the successor. In the former, the crown is annexed to the family, and to the right heir of that family; in the latter, it goes to the next heir of the last possessor; so that in a *lineal* succession the possessor is but a sort of *usufructuary*, or (as the President *de Jeanin* styles him in the argument, which in conjunction with the Embassadors of all the mediating Princes, he urged to engage the *Dutch* not to insist on the King of *Spain's* express renunciation of his sovereignty over them, as an article of the truce of 1608, and which he exemplified in the constitutions of *England, France, &c.*) a *fiduciary possessor* or *administrator* of the kingdom, and has no more right to the *possession*, than the next Prince of the blood has to the *succession*, in which he has what the Lawyers call a *jus formatum*. Hence arise the maxims universally received by Lawyers, that no body can change the cause of his possession, and that no Prince can, contrary to the tenour of the first investiture, alter the condition of the fief, or otherwise prejudice those who have a *jus quæsitum* in that investiture. Hence it follows, that
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in such a *lineal succession*, a possessor cannot leave his kingdom by will, nor divide it among his children, nor give, or sell it to others, nor indeed alienate it, or any part thereof in any manner whatsoever; and if he should attempt to do so, it would not oblige or affect the next heir, who deriving his right of succession, not from him but from the constitution of the realm, by *lineal* descent from the first progenitor, cannot be bound by any act of a person who enjoys the crown only for life, that lessens or impairs his inheritance. But in the other case of a succession *merely hereditary*, a King enjoys his crown as a *patrimony*, in the phrase of the Civil Law; which a father having it in his power to dispose of as he pleases, such a King may accordingly dispose thereof by will, disinherit whom he sees fit, divide it as he pleases, and alienate it as he shall judge proper. This last kind of constitution follows the analogy of the Civil Law in the case of private patrimonies; the former is founded on the ordinance of God Almighty, determining the order and right of succession to inheritances among the *Jews*; for thus *Moses* is ordered to speak to the children of *Israel*, Numb. xxvii. 8, 9, 10, 11. *If a man die and have*

no son, then ye shall cause his inheritance to pass unto his daughter: And if he have no daughter, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his brethren. And if he have no brethren, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his father's brethren: And if his father have no brethren, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his kinsman that is next to him of his family, and he shall possess it.

That a lineal succession was the constitution of the crown of *Portugal*, was justly to be presumed, not only because it was so of all the other kingdoms in *Spain*, but because of common right in things not derived from the last possessor, but annexed to a family, and received from the first author thereof, the succession does not go by a right of inheriting, to the last possessor, but by a right of blood, or of inheriting to the first Institutor and *Genarcha* of the family. This appeared clearly enough from the manner of the first institution of that kingdom; and from the constant course of its succession from father to son, grandfather to grandson, brother to brother, uncle to nephew, nephew to uncle, and cousin to cousin.

As to the institution of the kingdom, the manner of it is thus related.

Alfonso

fonso I. in the night before *July 25, 1139*, the day on which he gained a wonderful victory over five *Moorish* Kings, was sleeping in his tent, and saw in a vision an old man coming to him and saying, "Be of good courage, *Alfonso*; for you shall defeat those infidel Kings, and our Lord will shew himself unto thee. Immediately after, *Ferdinand de Sousa*, Gentleman of his bedchamber, came into his tent, acquainting him that an old man desired to speak with him; upon whose entrance he found him to be the same as had been represented to him in his vision. The old man was an hermit who had lived twenty-six years in an adjoining cell; and told *Alfonso*, "that he should get the victory, and the Lord would shew mercy upon him, and his seed to the sixteenth generation, when his offspring should be diminished for a time, but should afterwards revive: And that when he heard his (the hermit's) bell ring, he should go out of his camp alone, and the Lord *Jesus* would appear to him." *Alfonso* accordingly, when at the second watch of the night, he heard the bell, went out of his camp, armed with a sword and shield, and looking towards the East, saw a brightness greater than that of the Sun

Sun, and our Saviour upon the Cross, who said to him, "Take courage, *Alfonso*, for thou shalt not only gain this battel, but all the rest that thou shalt fight against the enemies of the Cross; thou shalt find thy men stout, eager for action, and desirous thou shouldst enter with the Title of King, into this engagement. Do not hesitate, but yield to what they desire, for I am the founder and overthrower of empires, and kingdoms, and am minded to establish my empire in thee *and in thy seed* after thee, to propagate my name to foreign nations; and that thy successors may acknowledge me the Donor of thy kingdom, thou shalt take my Cross for thy ensign, or coat of arms."

Whether *Alfonso* had really any such vision or appearance of our Lord, or whether he only invented this story, to give new courage to his troops, whom he observed intimidated at the almost infinite multitude of their enemies, who are said to be above 400000 men, or to persuade his vassals of the divine right of himself and his descendants to the crown, is of no great consequence. It is certain that the *Portuguese* in general believed his relation; that King *Emanuel* mentions this apparition of *Christ* in the inscription which

which he put on the monument he erected in honour of this *Alfonso*; that the most ancient chronicles agree in the substance of the story; and that all historians are unanimous in this account of the original of the kingdom of *Portugal*. *Alfonso* certainly carried the matter very far, if he really made oath of the truth of this relation before the States of his realm at *Coimbra*, on October 30, 1142; and yet *A. D.* 1596, an original instrument thereof containing the said relation at length, signed by the King, two Bishops, and eight of the Noblesse, and Deputies of towns, with several pendant seals fixed to it, was said to be found in the archives of the monastery of *Alcovasa*, of the *Bernardin* Order, founded by that King, and is printed in *Bernard Brito's* chronicles of the *Cistercian* Order, and by *Brandao* in his *Monarchia Lusitana*. The same authors have published another instrument under seal, and attested like the other, found in the same archives; wherein *Alfonso*, after taking notice how the kingdom of *Portugal* was delivered to him and his successors for ever *de manu Domini qui præsentialiter tradidit eum mihi*, charges it with an annual payment of fifty maravedi's of gold to *St. Bernard* and his successors,
Abbots

Abbots of *Clareval* for ever. This is dated *April* 28, 1142.

There is in the royal archives at *Lisbon* an original Bull of Pope *Alexander* III. in 1179; whereby he confirms the crown to this *Alfonso* and *his heirs* for ever. But this gives occasion to dispute the genuineness of the epistles under the name of *Alfonso* and Pope *Innocent* II. in 1142, published by *Brito*, and pretended to be found in the archives of the church of *Toledo*; as also the acts of the Cortes or Parliament of *Lamego*, in the same year, wherein a formal regulation is made of the succession of the crown, in the descendants of *Alfonso*, as well male as female, in their respective order and degree, and by a further provision it is enacted, that the eldest daughter of a King should marry none but a *Portuguese*, lest the kingdom should fall into the hands of a foreigner. This last instrument containing the Acts of that Cortes, is not so much as pretended to be found in any archives, which may give it credit: And *Brandao*, who first published it, does not attempt to verify it as an authentic one; tho' it being an ancient writing, he is willing to think it may have a probable authority. But besides some objections that may be made to

to it from the contents thereof, what shakes exceedingly the credit that otherwise might possibly be given to these instruments of the year 1142, is that they clash with St. *Bernard's* 308th and 367th epistles to this very King *Alfonso*, in *A. D.* 1147, when he sent some of his Monks to *Lisbon*, where they arrived on *December* 24, that year. These two undoubted epistles of St. *Bernard*, shew clearly that Pope *Innocent's* Bull of confirmation could not be earlier than that year, if indeed he ever granted any Bull; which is still to be suspected because there is no notice taken thereof in that of *Alexander III.* in 1179, which is incontestably genuine.

As for the other instruments before-mentioned, none of them were so much as heard of, or appealed to at the time of the dispute about the succession of this crown in 1579, when the several claims of the pretenders, were heard with such solemnity. All that appeared and was then insisted on, was the history of the succession, as it had been in fact conveyed down to that time in consequence of the right of primogeniture, as well in the collateral, as the direct descending branches or lines of the first *Alfonso's* issue. The will of King *John I.* approved by the Cortes, and produced
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on this occasion declared it expressly to be the custom and constitution of the kingdom of *Portugal*, and the true order of the succession, that the eldest son of a King should succeed him, or, he dying, his son or grandson descending in a right line; or, in case this line was extinct, then the King's second son, with his son or grandson; and in failure thereof, the other sons and their descendants in their respective orders. The letters also of *Alfonso V.* to the States of *Portugal* about the succession of the crown, are as express for this lineal succession, as the advocates for it could desire; for they attest not only the King's eldest son, or, if he die before his father, the issue either male or female that he left, succeeding him in the kingdom, but also that in case of the extinction of this eldest line, the second son should succeed, and his son and grandson even to degrees of consanguinity, in which the Civil Law allows no representation.

It was evident likewise, that the Kings of *Portugal*, far from being able to dispose of the crown, could not so much as alienate any part of its domain, lands or jewels. Thus *John II.* and other Kings resumed the grants of their predecessors. Thus the same *John*, one of
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REVOLUTIONS of

the greatest Princes of his time, the justest in his administration, the tenderest of his people, and the most absolute master of his kingdom of any Prince that ever sat upon the throne, tho' he was infinitely fond of his natural son *George*, and was strongly tempted to settle the crown upon him, yet finding it out of his power, even tho' the Pope should join with him in the act, to legitimate him, so as to render him capable of the succession, and that it would be directly contrary to the constitution, which is the proper measure and boundary of the royal authority that it gives, thought fit at last, out of a motive of conscience, and regard to justice, to desist from the enterprise. Thus *Emanuel*, when he came to the crown, declared to the States at *Monte-major*, " That it was not in his
 " predecessor's power to dispose of the
 " the jewels, lands, or other goods of
 " the crown for any longer term than his
 " life, yet out of regard to his memory,
 " and that it might not be said he hated
 " him for the thought he had once entertained to his prejudice, he would vouchsafe to confirm such grants as he saw
 " fit, as an act of grace at his first accession. For as he derived nothing
 " from his predecessor, it was not reasonable

“ nable that his condition should be made
“ worse by him, nor was the crown re-
“ venue in the other’s disposal longer
“ than during his own life.” This was
in effect the sense of *Philip* of *Spain*,
when he refused to own the authority of
the last possessor *Henry*, and the States of
Portugal, to judge of the right of suc-
cession, and denied that of the judges
and governors of the *interim* established
by them, since all the authority of a
Prince ceased at his death, and could not
operate or have any effect afterwards;
it being a clear maxim in law, that *jus*
morientis per mortem ejus extinctum est,
and is in no respect conveyed to any one
but who claims *ex persona morientis*,
what was peculiar to him, and not ap-
propriated to the family, and is for com-
ing into his place, rather than into that
of the first progenitor ; and the regal au-
thority being by the royal law and consti-
tution of *Portugal*, vested *pleno jure*, and
in its whole extent, in the next succes-
sor: So that the royal authority, or King,
never dies in that kingdom, any more
than it does in *France*, where the *agna-
tic*, or the male lineal succession prevails,
or in *England*, and other countries, where
the *cognatic*, or male and female lineal
succession prevails.

REVOLUTIONS *of*

Now in a *lineal* succession, all persons descended from the blood of the first progenitor, succeed in their respective order to the crown by right of blood, *ob sanguinis continuationem*, as the Lawyers express themselves. A King's eldest son has even during his father's life, *in habit* at least, the prerogative of primogeniture, and a right to the succession vested in him from his birth; and tho' the effect of this be suspended during the father's life, yet he transmits this right and prerogative to his son, not so much as the inheritance of a father who died before him, as what the Lawyers call *jus acquisitum*, a right actually acquired; and this holds in collateral, as well as direct lines, nothing being more natural and reasonable, than that a son should succeed to his father's rights as well as possessions. In this kind of succession, when a Prince has several children, each of these form a distinct *line* or primogeniture, the male branches taking their place before the female, and the elder of the male before the others; so that till the line of the eldest son is extinct, neither the second son, or any of his descendants can succeed; but that being extinct, the line of the second son takes place, and that extinct, the third comes in;

in; and so on in their respective order, still keeping to the rule that none of a second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth or other *line* can succeed whilst there are any of an elder or preceding *line* remaining, of what age, sex or degree soever they be. This is the case not only in direct, but in collateral branches, where a King's brothers form each of them a distinct line with the same right and order of succession. Hence the advocates for *Rainuccio* Prince of *Parma*, very easily proved his right to the crown of *Portugal*; for the line of *John III.* the eldest son of King *Emanuel* being extinct in *Sebastian*, and the lines of *Louis*, *Henry*, and the other sons being extinct in themselves who had died without any legitimate issue, the succession was necessarily vested in the line of *Edward* the sixth son of *Emanuel*, and *Edward* having no son, the right of succession went to *Mary* his eldest daughter, and through her to *Rainuccio* her eldest son.

This was the natural, simple, and regular way of succession, founded (as they alledged) on the order of nature, the law of nations, and the particular constitution of *Portugal*. It was necessary for the other candidates to find out some pretences of objecting to *Rainuccio's* right;

and finding none, either from the municipal laws of *Portugal*, or from the *Feudal* law (the customs whereof prevailed among all the northern nations) and its general rules of succession in all the *Gothick* constitutions, they had recourse to the civil or *Roman* Law, for a pretext to supply the defects, and colour the weakness of their titles. Nobody that knows any thing of the constitution of the *Roman* State, can expect they should there find any law or rule about the succession of kingdoms; so that in defect thereof, they were forced to insist on the laws of succession in the case of private inheritances, and apply them by analogy to that of kingdoms; tho' these being indivisible in their nature, and succeeded to *in solidum*, cannot very reasonably be subjected to the same rules, as private patrimonies, which are divisible in their nature, and were made so expressly by the civil or *Roman* Law, which shared them equally among all the children as well male as female, if the father had not otherwise disposed thereof by his will.

It must be observed, that the old *Romans* were very careful in paternal power and rights in all the height and extent wherein they had been ever enjoyed by the law of nature, before a number

ber of families were united in any form of civil government. Children were by them deemed as much a part of the father's property, as his house, lands, or cattle; and might be as well seized on for the discharge of his debts. A father might even sell his son for a slave, and if the son by the bounty of his master, or otherwise, recovered his liberty, the father could still repeat this sale of him to the third time, beyond which the law did not allow so rigorous and cruel an exercise of the paternal power. Agreeable hereto, the father being absolute Lord of all his goods and estate, might freely dispose thereof as he pleased; but in case he died intestate, then the law came in to regulate the succession; and it being presumed that all the children were equally in his good graces, and he having made no declaration to the contrary, his estate and inheritance was equally divided among them, the law judging that the father's disposition would have been such, if he had left a will.

It must be observed further, that the *Romans* in the general tenour of their laws, had a great regard to the publick; and tho' the natural right, which children have to their father's inheritance,

prevailed so far as to secure their succession, yet when a person died intestate, and left no children, the publick was deemed his heir, and his estate being escheated, devolved to the publick treasury. This was afterwards thought hard upon the relations of the deceased, and as fictions are often allowed in law for the sake of equity, (tho' *cessante æquitate cessat fictio*) so upon the fiction that the son stands in his father's stead, and is the same person with him, the benefit of *representation*, a privilege contrary to the ordinary rules of the Civil Law, was introduced. This representation puts children and grand-children in the place of their fathers, and postpones all that would have been postponed, were their fathers still living; so that by this means the father's right is preserved as if they were alive, and the children are preferred as their fathers would have been if still living. The benefit of this representation was promiscuously granted to men and women without distinction, and was at first granted only to *direct* descendants: But as the reason of the law is the soul of it, and this reason was the same in both cases, it was thought proper, *ubi eadem ratio idem jus statuendum esse*, to extend this privilege to the *collateral* heirs, tho' with this difference,

rence, that whereas it was extended to any degree in direct descendants, it was in collateral ones restrained to the children of the brothers or sisters of the deceased. This the Civil Law deems the third degree of propinquity, and beyond that degree nobody could lay any claim to the benefit of representation.

These things being premised, it will be easy to understand the grounds and reasons of the claims of the other candidates for the crown of *Portugal*. Their advocates catching at some expressions in old Historians, and other authors writing about the affairs of that kingdom, wherein the crown is said to be settled on *Alfonso I.* and his *beirs*, and to descend by *hereditary* right and succession, without mentioning the particular *modus* thereof, whether *purely* or *lineally* hereditary, are pleased to take those expressions, not in their natural and extended meaning, in which the generality of writers, not used to the style, or versed in the terms of law, commonly use them, and in which the old *French* and other Historians use them in speaking of the successions of their countries that are confessedly *lineal*, but in that limited or restrained sense which is affixed to them by the Civil Law. Hence, without any further enquiry

quiry into the laws, customs, and constitution of the kingdom, they inferred, that the *Portuguese* monarchy was *purely* hereditary, possessed by the last King as his sole property or patrimony, and that those who by the *Roman* Law would be considered as the nearest heirs to the last possessor, ought to succeed to him; only whereas a kingdom is indivisible, and could not, like *Roman* inheritances, be shared by several, but must descend to a single person, they were forced to allow a preference in the succession, on account of the nearer degree, the better sex, and the greater age of the several heirs; and that it ought to descend to the person who had the advantage in these respects. This was the general foundation upon which they all proceeded.

The Duchess of *Braganza* urged for herself in particular, that her father Prince *Edward* would, if he were living, have indisputably succeeded to his elder brother *Henry* the last possessor; that her father having left no issue but her sister *Mary* the late Duchess of *Parma*, and herself; and *Mary* being dead about two years before in 1577, she was now the sole representative of her father, and ought to succeed in his right to the crown; that
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if *Mary* had been living, there could indeed have been no dispute about the succession, but being dead, she could not transmit her right to her son *Rainuccio*, because the Civil Law did not allow the benefit of representation beyond the third degree of propinquity to the last possessor; so that she (the Duchess of *Braganza*) being a degree nearer to *Henry* than her nephew the Prince of *Parma*, and though in an equal degree with *Philip* of *Spain*, yet being the heir of a brother, whereas he was only the heir of a sister to *Henry*, the succession belonged to her of undoubted right.

Philip insisted on the exclusion of *Rainuccio* for the reason before alledged; and maintained, that tho' *Catharine* and he were equally related to *Henry* in respect of the degree, yet he ought to be preferred on account of his male sex, and the superiority of his age; that as he was the nearest heir male to *Henry*, he ought to succeed him; that as representation was a fiction in law, and tho' grounded on equity, was yet a deviation from its ordinary rules, it ought not to be carried to an unreasonable length, nor extended beyond the express words of the law; that laws never feigned things which are in their nature impossible, as
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it was that a woman should be a man; that representation followed nature, and tho' *Catharine* might represent the person of her father in some respects, yet she could not represent him with the prerogative of a male, since she was of a different sex; and the prerogative of a male before a female being personal, it must necessarily cease, and be extinguished by the father's death, and neither was, nor could be found in the person of a daughter; and that in fine, it was contrary to the methods of law, that a woman should by representation succeed to her father's place, and that a woman should be a man; because this was inducing two fictions in one and the same case, which the Civil Law, that was admitted in *Portugal* in cases where their municipal laws were silent, did not allow. For these reasons, and on account of some antiquated pretensions of the crown of *Castile*, put in to make up in number what was wanting in the weight of the arguments, and which are scarce worth the mentioning, *Philip* insisted that he ought to succeed to the crown of *Portugal*.

It was no difficult matter for *Catharine's* advocates to answer these arguments. They shewed clearly, That the
right

right of representation was common to males and females, there being the same equity in favour of both, and the express words of the Civil Law directing that *nepotes & neptes in patris locum seu gradum succedant*: That children succeeded to all the right the father had, or would have had if living, and therefore daughters represented their fathers, even with the prerogative of a male, this being comprehended in the words *in suorum parentum jure*, which secured to them all the inheritance or portion thereof, which their father would have received if living: That if it were not so, a female would succeed to nothing in case of a kingdom which is indivisible, and yet it was plain from the express laws and constitution of *Portugal*, that a King's grand-daughter by his eldest son would exclude her uncles who were younger than her father from the succession of the crown; and the law was the same in the case of collateral, as well as of direct descendants, the words thereof being clear, *de manera que sempre al hijo y sus descendientes legitimos per su orden representen le persona de sus padres. Lex 42. Tauri*; and this succession of daughters (if it was not in virtue of a right of blood as the Prince of *Parma* alledged to support his claim) was

was a full proof, that by the laws of *Portugal*, a female might represent her father with the prerogative of a male: That eldership is as personal a quality to a son, as being a male is to a father, and yet the son, a first born, represents him in the prerogative of primogeniture, and excludes his uncles tho' older than himself: That the quality of consanguinity which a brother has with the deceased, and by which he excludes the half brothers by one of the parents only, from the succession, is also personal, and does not pass to his sons, who yet represent their father with that very prerogative: That the relation or quality of filiation which a son has with his father is merely personal, and ends with the son's person, not passing naturally to the grandson, who yet represents his father with the prerogative of succeeding, and so does a daughter as well as a son, with the prerogative of a male, they being equally in the eye of the law one person with the father, and consequently representing all the father's qualities and prerogatives: That in representations, the quality, not of the person representing, but of the person represented, is to be attended to, because by the words of the law, children *in parentis locum & gradum transeunt*; so that
a man

a man the son of a daughter, tho' he has a personal quality to succeed in a male fief, is yet excluded from the succession, because he represents his mother, who by the quality of a woman could not succeed to it; and as in such a case the son is not benefited by the good quality of a male, and the mother's quality does prejudice to the son who represents her, so it was on the contrary; and if *Philip* pretended *Catharine* was unable to succeed on account of her sex, his mother was so too: That the law does not feign a woman to be a male, but only communicates to her that prerogative or privilege of her father, just as it does not feign a grandson to be elder than an uncle who was born before him, which is impossible, yet communicates to him the prerogative which his father had of eldership: That a nephew is by nature in the third degree of consanguinity with an uncle his father's brother, yet the law gives him the prerogative of the second degree which his father had and would have enjoyed if living, yet it is as impossible for one actually in the third degree to be in the second, as it is for a woman to be a man: That the law may, and does in frequent instances, suppose two, and even more fictions in the same thing; and
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in this particular case, all the fictions supposed necessarily from this one of the children's succeeding to their father's right. From hence, and from the constant rule observed, universally received in all successions of kingdoms, that the male ever preceedes the female in the same degree and line, they sufficiently justified *Catharine's* claim against *Philip*, who was indeed with his male quality only in the third degree; whereas she representing her father, entered into the second degree of consanguinity to the last possessor: And whereas both of them claimed by representation, *Philip* could only have the degree of his mother, as she had that of her father; and as her father *Edward* would have excluded *Philip's* mother *Isabella*, so *Catharine* must exclude *Philip* in the succession of the crown of *Portugal*.

Such were the arguments used at that time by the several candidates for that succession. For as to *Philibert Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, son of *Beatrix*, sister of *Isabella*, and younger daughter of King *Emanuel*, his agents made use of those advanced by *Philip*; and he only entered his claim that it might take place, if *Philip* should chance to dye before the decease of *Henry*; because then the right
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which *Philip* had, would devolve to him, *Philip's* children being (as they insisted with regard to the Duchess of *Parma's*) incapacitated to represent him as to *Henry's* succession, by the Civil Law, which admits of no representation in collateral branches, beyond the third degree of consanguinity.

These different pretensions to the succession, gave great uneasiness to *Henry*, and indeed to all orders of men throughout the kingdom, who saw themselves threatened with a civil war, and in danger of utter ruin. No nation ever stood in more need of a great and wise Prince and Council, at the head of their affairs, and yet there was scarce ever known a weaker than was found in *Portugal* at this juncture. *Henry* was a man of a regular life, and endowed with many of the virtues of a Priest; but had all the faults and defects that a King can well have. He was covetous and revengeful, timorous and irresolute, implacable in his resentments, and governed by his passions, which his ministers knowing how to manage, led a man, who had no reach or judgment of his own, blindly on into all their measures. He had been out of favour from the time that his predecessor had taken on him the administra-

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tion, and resolved to be revenged on those that he imagined had been the occasion of it, or had not treated him with sufficient respect during his disgrace. Thus animated, he revoked all that had been done by the late King, without doing the least good in any one instance, except in the repeal of the Salt Tax. He turned out almost all that had been in command under *Sebastian*, or employed by him in any office, either in the household or finances; and changed the ministers of state, and old counsellors, to put new ones in their stead, who had neither experience to fit them for business, nor capacity to qualify them for their charges. He wished really the good of his people, but wanted the spirit, courage, skill and resolution, necessary to enable him to take proper measures for preventing the miseries with which they were threatened. The States of the realm desired him to declare his successor; and the magistrates of *Lisbon* used pressing instances, and presented to him strong remonstrances on the subject. He answered them, "It was a matter deserved much and serious reflection; but he would in time provide for the succession." He was inclined to the Duchess of *Braganza*, and caused the lawyers of *Coimbra* to write

write for her title, in order to prepare the world for the declaration he was minded to make in her favour: And had he resolutely declared her his successor, and got her acknowledged as such by the Cortes, which might easily have been done, the kingdom would in all probability, have united in supporting her against *Philip*; and the miseries which ensued upon a different conduct, might have been in a great measure prevented. What prevented that step was, his fear of a civil war between her and Don *Antonio*, who was favoured by the common people. Un capable of taking a vigorous step, finding difficulties in all that were suggested, and uncertain what party to take, he sought only to gain time, and put off a declaration which was absolutely necessary for the quiet and safety of the kingdom; and the delay of which, tho' but for a moment, might prove fatal. This was the worst party of any that could be taken; yet he resolved to cite all that laid claim to the crown, to appear before him and produce their reasons. His age and infirmities were such, that it was not likely he could live till a decision; he proposed therefore to appoint five governors with a sovereign authority during the *interregnum*, and to oblige the

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people

people to swear obedience to them, whilst they examined at their leisure the titles of the candidates, and till they had pronounced sentence on their several pretensions.

The world was amazed at this resolution, and the people complained of the slowness of his determination, when he could not flatter himself with hopes of living to the end of the cause: They railed openly at his ministers and measures, and maintained, that he ought himself to decide of the succession, to declare his successor, and make him take an oath to preserve the rights and privileges of the nation; and that it was too tedious in the present juncture even to wait an assembly of the States, their condition and situation requiring an immediate declaration. *Henry* however was positive in his resolution; and calling the Cortes to confirm it, they met at *Lisbon* on *April 1, 1579*. He asked their advice, how to provide for the good of the realm; but scarce two persons agreed in the same sentiment. In this confusion he talked in private with the principal persons of the Clergy, Noblesse, and Deputies of towns, and prevailed with them, not to insist on his naming a successor at that time, but to consent to his

his measures as mentioned above. It was resolved, that he should hear the reasons of the several candidates, and give his judgment thereon, but this judgment was not to be published till after his decease: In case he died before this was done, the affair of the succession was to be decided by eleven persons to be chosen by the King out of twenty-four named by the States, and the government of the realm, during the *interregnum*, was to be in the hands of five persons appointed by his majesty, out of fifteen recommended by the Cortes, all the members whereof swore to obey the governors so chosen, and the person who should be declared successor.

The Cortes being dissolved, *Henry* cited the candidates. *Ferdinand Farnese* Bishop of *Parma* came to support the interests of the young Prince *Rainuccio*, who was still a child, and might have been bred up as the *Portuguese* pleased. *Charles de la Rouere* appeared for the Duke of *Savoy*; and *Urban de St. Gelais* Bishop of *Comminges*, for *Catharine de Medicis*, who was admitted to set forth her claim, but could not support it by any proof. *Philip* suspecting as well the goodness of his cause, as *Henry's* disposition towards him, refused

fused to appear, alledging that a King's power ceased at his death, and he could bequeath no authority to governors; nor had he in his own life any power to judge of the rights of his successor, or take them away by his sentence. The Duke of *Braganza* appeared to support his wife's pretensions; as Don *Antonio* did to support his own. These two last quarrelled, and the animosity between them raised a great disturbance in the court. *Henry* ordered the former from thence, and the latter to his Priory; yet the Duke returned soon to maintain his cause in person, a favour which was not indulged the other. *Antonio* complained of this inequality of treatment; yet sent his agents and witnesses to make out his title; but the latter either recanting or disagreeing in their depositions, he was declared illegitimate. Instead of retiring to *Crato*, he went over the kingdom to court the populace. This proceeding incensed *Henry* so highly, that he issued out a proclamation against him, confiscated his goods, and banished him the kingdom in fifteen days. *Antonio* not obeying this order, but lurking in secret, and being protected by the people, so that he could not be taken or discovered, was summoned to court; but did not come,
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being afraid to trust himself to the King's resentment.

Philip, tho' he would not appear in form, to support his claim, sent first *Christopher de Moura*, as his ordinary Embassador, and afterwards the Duke of *Offuna* as an extraordinary one, to take care of his interests. He wrote also to the chief cities of *Portugal*, representing his descent from the royal blood of their Kings, the kindness he had shewed, and the good offices he had done their countrymen prisoners in *Barbary*; offering to augment their privileges, flattering them with the expectations of great benefit from a free trade to the *Spanish West-Indies*, and laying before them every thing that they had either to hope, or fear, from his power. His Embassadors were continually solliciting *Henry* to declare him his successor, and neglected no measures that could be serviceable to carry their point. They did not fail to employ money properly; and by large presents, and larger promises, they drew in several persons of quality. But however notable their management, and considerable their success were, he would not trust entirely thereto; but assembled a powerful army of old *Spanish* soldiers, and levied great numbers of new forces in *Italy* and
F 4 *Germany*,

Germany, resolved at any rate to make himself master of *Portugal*.

Henry seeing these great preparations, was afraid of declaring for the Dukes of *Braganza*, whom he judged unable to resist the power of *Philip*; especially since the affection of the *Portuguese* seemed so much set on *Don Antonio*, that a civil war was expected to be raised by him within the kingdom, at the same time that it was attacked by the *Spaniards* from without. His apprehensions of *Antonio*'s popularity were so great, that he raised new companies of guards for the security of his palace, not thinking his own person in safety. These fears of his were so well improved by *Leon Henriquez* a Jesuit, his Confessor, who had a vast ascendant over him, and who, tho' he had at first been for *Catharine*, was now gained over to *Philip*'s party, that he was brought to think the only way to save the nation from the ruin which threatened it, was to agree matters with *Philip*, and declare that Prince his successor. This design he communicated to the *Spanish* Ambassadors, and sent the project of accommodation (in which it was provided that no charges should be given but to *Portuguese*, and some other flattering conditions

tions were inserted) with great secrecy to *Madrid*; signifying withall his intention of laying it before the Cortes, in order to obtain their consent. *Philip*, tho' he hoped well of the Clergy, and the Noblesse, as being most of them gained by the bribes and promises of his agents, yet knowing the aversion of the people to the *Castilian* government, easily imagined it would be impracticable to get the concurrence of the third estate. He proposed therefore consulting the cities singly, and used strong remonstrances against assembling the Cortes, who having already given the King power to declare his successor, there was no need of calling them again. But *Henry* was not to be diverted from his own methods by any reasons; and the Cortes meeting at the palace of *Almerin* on *Jan. 9, 1580*, he communicated to them his design of making an accommodation between *Philip* and the kingdom, as the only expedient of preserving peace in the nation, which if *Philip* succeeded to on such advantageous conditions, would receive great benefit by his succession. The Clergy accepted it readily; and it was, after long debates among the Noblesse, carried there by the majority of a single voice: But it was utterly rejected by the
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third estate. The King had used his utmost endeavours to get the cities to chuse deputies to his mind, and to gain such as were returned; he had prevailed in *Lisbon* to get such elected as he thought most dependant on his will, but failed of his point at *Coimbra*, and in the rest of the cities. These deputies were unanimous in rejecting all manner of accommodation with the *Castilians*; and *Phæbus Moniz* one of the Deputies for *Lisbon*, and more attached to him than any other, desired him in the name of the rest, not to give them up to *Castile*, but to declare any *Portuguese* whatever, his successor, and they would be satisfied. The King refusing to comply with this request, they insisted on their right of chusing a King; and in the midst of these disputes, *Henry* died on *Jan. 31*, at midnight, regretted by none, and leaving by will, his crown to the next heir without naming any person.

A. D. 1580.

Upon his death, the five governours assumed the administration of the kingdom; and to them the Duchess of *Braganza* referred her cause, pressing for judgment. *Philip* wrote to them insisting on his right, and offering them all the terms upon which *Henry* had insisted; sending them a copy of that Prince's memorial.

memorial. He wrote also to the Noblesse, and the five chief cities of the kingdom to the same effect. The Governors, three of which were in his interest, published the conditions he had granted, *viz.* That he would take a solemn oath to maintain the privileges and liberties of the people: That the States should be assembled within the realm, and nothing proposed in any other States that related to *Portugal*: That the Viceroy or chief Governor should be a *Portuguese*, unless the King should, as a favour, give that charge to one of the royal family: That the King's household should be kept on the same foot: That the post of first President, or Intendant General, and all civil charges of the crown, the household, and of judicature, all military offices by sea and land, in the navy, the provinces, forts and garrisons, great and small, should be filled with natural *Portuguese*: All dignities in the church, and in the orders of knighthood, confined to the same: The commerce of *Ethiopia*, *Africa*, and *Indies* reserved also to them, and to be carried on only by their merchants and vessels: That he would remit the third penny, the crusadoes, and other imposts on ecclesiastical goods: That he would pass no grant of any city, town

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or jurisdiction royal, to any but *Portuguese*: That estates accruing to the crown by forfeitures, should not be united to the *domain*, but go to the relations of the last possessor, or be given to other *Portuguese*, for recompence of services: That when the King came into *Portugal*, where he should reside as much as possible, he should not take the houses of private persons for his officers lodging, as in *Castile*, but keep to the custom of *Portugal*: That wherever his majesty was, he should have an Ecclesiastick, a Treasurer, a Chancellor, and two Masters of Requests, with under-officers, all of them *Portuguese*, who should dispatch every thing relating to the kingdom: That *Portugal* should be kept as a distinct crown, and its revenue consumed within itself: That all matters of justice should be decided within the realm: That the *Portuguese* should be admitted to charges in the King and Queen of *Spain's* households; The duties of entry on the frontiers be taken away, in order to a free commerce with *Castile*: That *Philip* should give 300000 ducats to redeem prisoners, repair cities, and relieve the miseries which the plague and other calamities had brought on the people. The
Clergy

Clergy and Noblesse were for accepting these offers; but the Deputies of towns refused.

Portugal was at this time in a very ill condition to oppose the arms of *Philip*. Besides the terrible blow received two years before in *Barbary*, an excessive draught had spoiled their harvest, and caused a kind of famine: Dearness and scarcity of provisions, unwholesom diet, or infected merchandise from abroad, had occasioned a plague in *Lisbon*, which spread itself all over the kingdom. There was no money in the treasury, and when it was proposed to the merchants to lend 100000 ducats, they refused. *Lisbon* itself was without walls in several places, and all the forts in the kingdom unprovided of proper garrisons and destitute of ammunition, and other means of defence. There was however still force enough in *Portugal* to defend it, had there been any union among the ministers at the helm, any concert among the Noblesse, or an head to direct the conduct of both; and put the nation on exerting itself with vigour and uniformity.

The majority of the Governors were for delivering the kingdom to *Philip*; but knew not how to bring about their design,

design, by reason of the aversion of the people. They thought fit in the first place, to get rid of the Cortes who might controul their power; and accordingly declared them dissolved, and the procurations of the Deputies of the towns null and expired. They sent such of the gentry as were averse to the *Castilian* yoke, away into the provinces, under the pretence of some command and charge or other, that they might be left themselves at full liberty to take their own measures for executing their designs. They sent secretly into *Castile* a great part of the powder that was in the magazines, and mixed the rest with sand. They pretended at the same time to prepare for defence; but it was only in appearance, and because they were forced to do something or other. Thus for a colour, *Francis Barretto* was dispatched to *France*, to solicit an aid of 6000 men, which they knew could not arrive time enough to be of any service; whilst they clogged all preparations for making the least opposition to the *Spaniards*, with delays to prevent their effect. They made orders indeed for arms and ammunition to be sent to the forts and garrisons; but no care was taken of the execution, and none were sent, not even to *Elvas*

Elvas, the place of all others of the greatest importance, the first in danger, and the most exposed; *Louis Cesari*, Intendant of the Arsenal, either knowing their mind, or following his own inclinations (for he was secretly in *Philip's* interest) hindering all their orders from taking effect.

The candidates within the realm endeavoured to gain the Governors, but in vain. Don *Antonio* had, on *Henry's* death, appeared in publick, and advanced to the gardens near *Lisbon*, in hopes of the people rising in his favour; but being disappointed therein, and nobody daring to visit him, it being forbidden by the magistrates, he went away and offered his claim to the Cortes. Meeting with no better success there, he applied himself to the Governors, insisting to be declared legitimate, but was refused. The Duke of *Braganza* was not a man of an enterprising genius; peaceable in his nature, and devout. The Noblesse had a greater aversion to him than any of the other candidates; and even among his own relations, some opposed his greatness out of jealousy; and his very vassals were less in his interest than in *Antonio's*. He sent manifestos of his wife's right to *Rome*, *France*, and *England*,

gland, desiring succours of money, ammunition and officers; yet met with no return but empty compliments. He had offered to unite with the Governors in defence of the realm; but finding no stable support any where, he acquiesced, and retired to his own house, expecting the event. Thus all opposition on the part of the candidates seemed to be laid aside.

About the middle of *June*, the Duke of *Alva* by *Philip's* orders entered *Portugal* with 20000 men. *Elvas*, *Olivenza*, *Serpa*, *Moura*, *Portalegre*, *Estremos*, and other towns submitted to him without any opposition; there being parties of the *Spanish* faction in all of them, ready to raise mutinies, and force the Governors to surrenders, if they had not been so ill provided for defence, as they were in reality. The people laid this ill success upon the five regents, exclaimed against their conduct, and neglect of preparations, and charged them with betraying the kingdom to *Philip*. *Antonio* to make his advantage of these discontentments, took occasion from the building of a fort at *Santarem*, (the first stone of which was to be laid by him on *June* 19, with a solemnity fit to draw people from all parts to gratify their eyes with such a novelty)

a novelty) to get himself proclaimed King in a tumult. The project succeeded, the mob declared for him, and several of the Noblesse were afterwards forced to sign at the town house an instrument of the proclamation.

He would have taken his measures better, and been more likely to succeed, had he followed the example of *John I.* and assumed the title of Defender of the kingdom, for which the scandalous neglect of the Governors afforded a favourable pretence: And he might possibly have been supported therein by the Gentry's joining him; and when that point was gained, his power established by the exercise thereof, and his reputation by some successful actions, and the nation put out of their dread of the *Castilian* yoke, he would probably have found no great difficulty in changing his title for that of King. But being a man of little experience and judgment, (tho' he was not without some learning) his passion of reigning was too violent to let him wait so long, and he placed all his hopes in this tumultuary election; which the Noblesse misliking, retired to their own houses, and revolted from him as soon as the force upon them was removed. This defection was so general, that scarce any

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of them stood by him but the Count of *Vimioso*, and others of the bastard race of *Portugal*, descended from *Alfonso* I. Duke of *Braganza*. He was however so much in favour with the people, and all the religious were so zealous for him, that he was proclaimed in almost all the towns north of the *Tajo*: And marching to *Lisbon*, was received there by the multitude left in it by the plague, which had made the rich merchants quit the city, as the magistrates also did upon his approach. From thence he sent the Count of *Vimioso* to *Setuval*; which declaring for him, the Governors fled away in great confusion, and giving up their authority, gave sentence in favour of *Philip*, declaring him the rightful King of *Portugal*.

Antonio being master of the capital, seized on the arsenal and magazines; placed new magistrates over the city, put others into the offices of justice, and disposed of all vacant charges. But as he employed new men without experience or honour, ready to execute all his orders with force and rigour, the place was soon full of violences, insults, rapin, robberies, plunder, and all manner of disorders. He made great offers to the Duke of *Braganza*, the Marquis of *Villa-real*, and other grandees: He wrote also

also to the gentry; but very few cared to acknowledge him. These were great discouragements: However to provide the best he could for his defence, he sent *Dora* the *French* Consul to *France*, to procure a succour of 2000 men; seized the crown jewels, the collections that had been made for redeeming slaves in *Barbary*, the plate of churches, the money deposited in convents, or given to charitable uses; and left no means untried to provide a fund sufficient for the charge of an army. He depended on the populace for making up the numbers and shew of a regular body of troops; but as the peasants could not leave their work to make a campaign, and he found it impracticable to keep any considerable number of them together for above a day, he, to supply that defect, armed the Negro slaves that were in *Lisbon*, and published a proclamation of freedom to all that would take up arms. This gave occasion to infinite disorders, those Negroes seizing arms, stealing horses, and supplying themselves with every thing they fancied wherever it was found. With such a tumultuary body of men, many of them ill affected to him, he set up his rest on defending the river of *Tajo*, and hindering the Duke of *Alva's* passage.

In the mean time, every day brought him some unwelcome account or other, of revolted towns, and of gentlemen deserting to his enemies. He began to suspect those about him: And all the towns that had submitted to him, were so divided, that they were in continual danger of mutinies. The Duke of *Alva* also having had the town of *Setuval* delivered to him by the inhabitants, and received the submission of the kingdom of the *Algarves*, and all the country south of *Tajo*, advanced to pass the river; which he did at *Cascaes*, by the help of the *Spanish* galleys that attended his motions on the coast, without any difficulty. *Cascaes* and *Fort St. Julien* being surrendered to him, and *Cabeza seca* abandoned, the Duke marched to *Alcantara*; where *Antonio* was posted, with all the men he could draw together, but without officers qualified to command, or soldiers that knew how to obey. In this condition no other event could be expected, but that his forces should be routed, as happened on *Aug. 25*, when the *Spaniards* pursuing the run-aways to *Lisbon*, the city was delivered to them, and saved from plunder: But the suburbs which were much larger and finer than what was inclosed within

within the walls, and all the neighbouring villages were sacked for several days together by the soldiers.

Antonio seeing the rout of his forces passed through *Lisbon*, without stopping so much as to have a wound dressed, fled to *Santarem* (where he was admitted only on the condition of quitting it) and from thence to *Coimbra*. There he got 4 or 5000 men together: But *Sancho d'Avila* being sent against him on *Sept. 22*, received in his march, the submission of *Coimbra*, *Monte-major*, and *Avero*, forced a passage over the *Duero*, and in consequence of that success, took *Porto*. *Antonio* quitting this last place, fled to *Viana*; but being closely pursued by *Sancho's* cavalry, took shipping in order to retire into *France*. The wind was contrary, and the weather stormy, the enemy too was preparing to attack the ship; so that he was obliged to quit it, and throw himself, disguised like a mariner, into a little skiff, and get ashore near *Viana*, even in the sight of a party of *Spanish* horse; yet he had the good fortune to escape them, and to be concealed privately in the country. A price of 80000 ducats was put on his head, and all endeavours were used to find and seize his person, but in vain. He

travelled about in disguise, and often passed through the midst of those that were in quest of him, without being known; Some even of his retinue and servants were taken as they were getting provisions for his embarkment at *Lisbon*, and put to death; yet made no discovery. He continued in the kingdom from Oct. 1580, when he left *Viana*, to the July following; and all that while all officers civil and military, and the soldiers of the army were out in the fields after him: They had scent of him several times, but could never catch him; tho' the Duke of *Alva* had once like to have taken him in *Lisbon* itself. 'Tis really wonderful that, when such great rewards were offered for his person, on which *Philip* thought the security of his throne depended, no one of those numbers to whom he was forced to confide himself should prove unfaithful. He was at all the ports of the kingdom seeking for a passage, and at *Lisbon* when *Philip* himself was there; but as he could not embark at that place because his men were taken, he went to *Setuval*, where, with half a dozen of his most faithful friends, he embarked and landed safely at *Calais*. Upon his flight, all the kingdom submitted, and owned the King of *Spain*; as did

did the garrisons in *Barbary*, and all the *Portuguese* settlements on the coasts of *Guinea*, in *Brasil*, and the *East-Indies*; and the Isle of *St. Michael*. But the rest of the *Maderas* held for *Antonio* till 1582, when they were reduced, and the *French* naval army sent to their relief, beaten and destroyed.

Philip would not set foot in the king-A. D. 1581.
dom till it was entirely reduced; but then he came to *Elvas*, where he abolished the customs for the passage of merchandise from the one realm to the other, valued at 150000 ducats a year. He entered *Lisbon* with great, but sullen pomp, without a single voice or acclamation in his favour: And calling the Cortes, they met at *Tomar* on *April* 19, 1581. He there confirmed the advantages he had offered to the kingdom by his letters: But whereas the Duke of *Offuna*, by way of security for those conditions, had promised them another, *viz.* that, if the King did not observe them, the States should be freed from their oath of obedience, and might defend their right by the word, without incurring the reproach of perjury, or the guilt of treason; this he absolutely refused to ratify. He endeavoured by all means, but with little effect, to reconcile the *Portu-*

guese to his government; and was so lavish in bestowing honours and gratifications, that the *Spaniards* said, he had, to his other titles to the crown, added that of purchase. Yet this did not satisfy: Infinite numbers of requests hard to be granted, were presented; so that the ministers being overwhelmed therewith, put them off without any answer. The Duke of *Ossuna*, and *Moura*, had been so liberal of their promises to all sorts of persons, that it was impossible to make them good; tho' *Philip* in attempting it, disposed of a considerable part of the *domain*, and gave chapels and commanderies to families in perpetuity and inheritance, which had ever before been temporary, and granted with restrictions: Thus gratifying the great men to the oppression of the people. He gave more than any King of *Portugal* had ever done; but the revenue was not sufficient to answer demands, and all were ungrateful. Many that had merits were left unrewarded; others that had none met with better fortune, and whilst liberalities and favours were extended alike to both, the one raised envy, and the other complaints; those that were gratified beyond their merits, grew insolent, and the others that were intirely forgot, became
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discontented; and even such as actually received recompences, but not equal as they imagined, to their services, did not so much value their own, as repine at others that had greater.

The Duke of *Braganza* above all the rest was the most disappointed, because he had the greatest expectations. *Philip* had offered his wife the kingdom of the *Algarves*, with all the lands that were usually the appanage of the Infantes, and an annual ship to be freighted on her account to the *Indies*. But when the question was of performance, the tenderness of his conscience would not allow him to give back any part of what he had seized by violence: He consulted Divines about the alienation, and was told, he could not do it with a good conscience. Nor did he make any reparation for the ravages committed by *Alva* and *Davila* on the lands, and the plunder of the castle of *Villa Viciosa*, which was entirely stripped, 10000 pieces of the finest jars and vessels of china broke, and all the furniture of that fine seat destroyed. All the satisfaction which the Duke of *Braganza* had, consisted in empty compliments: Nothing was given him either to enlarge his estate, or increase his power, which was great enough already

already to raise that Prince's jealousy. This usage was not likely to invite them to renounce their right to the crown, which *Philip* much desired, and hoped after the Duke's death to obtain by the proposal which he made of marriage to the Duchess, who absolutely rejected it, protesting she would first go into a convent.

The Deputies of the third estate presented *Philip* a remonstrance on the state of the realm; pressing him to send the Prince his son to be educated among them; to withdraw out of the kingdom the garrisons of *Castilians* and *Italians* which he had put into the strong places; to abolish certain taxes and imposts; to keep *Portugal* always separate from *Castile*, and to make some regulations in justice. He agreed to a few of these, and those of the least consequence; the rest were refused or declined.

The Noblesse not having opposed his Catholick Majesty, thought nothing could be denied their merits, and in confidence thereof made a deputation to him in the name of their whole body, desiring him to grant them a jurisdiction over their vassals, to annex the principal employments and governments to their body, exclusive of all others; to enoble none, unless

less for great services, and then only for life, so that the privilege might not descend to their children. These and other requests were rejected; so that they now began to repent they had not acted in concert to oppose his invasion of the realm.

Before the Cortes separated, a general amnesty was published, but so full of restrictions and artful clauses, that it scarce deserved the name. Fifty-two persons of the highest consideration were excepted by name; not a Monk or a Religious could have any benefit thereby, nor indeed any body that had ever followed Don *Antonio*, received any honour, dignity or gratification from him, or had any employment under him. All these were declared incapable of holding and exercising for the future, any office in the state, or of being continued in those that they possessed: So that the *Portuguese* said, the pardon extended to none but such as had never offended, or had nothing to lose; and were highly exasperated to find themselves so intolerably deceived with regard to their expectations in this respect. Nor could any intreaty prevail with *Philip* to make the pardon more general; but instead thereof, the excepted persons were summoned

moned and prosecuted, great numbers of men of quality and others were imprisoned, put to death, treated with the utmost rigour, or sent away prisoners into *Castile*; which vexed the *Portuguese* full as much as their execution could have done. Even the women were not exempted from the like usage, their goods being confiscated, their persons imprisoned, and some of them, even out of Convents, sent into *Castile*.

Philip was cruel in his nature, and implacable in his revenge; he never spared or pardoned any that opposed him; but put them to deaths of various kinds, openly, and in secret, without regard to age, sex, state, or condition. None suffered more remarkably from his rage, than the Monks and other Religious, of whom he destroyed an incredible number: And not to speak of those who died by the hardships of his prisons, he got, in a fit of conscience, from the Pope, a brief of pardon for 2000 Religious (some of which were Provincials of Orders) whom he had put to death in different manners. The carcases of many of these being thrown into the *Tajo*, were there taken up, some in the habits of Monks, by the fishermen, who thereupon fancying the river to be excommunicated

communicated, would not eat of the fish, nor follow their usual occupation, till the Archbishop of *Lisbon*, to humour their simplicity, went solemnly with the accustomed rites to the river, and absolved it of the excommunication.

Philip's spirit of revenge did not pass soon away, but however slow in appearing, was sure to fall heavy at last. The Civilians of *Coimbra*, who, by King *Henry's* commands had wrote for the Duchess of *Braganza's* right, were left at first in their Professors chairs, but afterwards turned out by degrees, on other pretences, and their arguments suppressed on pain of death. One of these, a man highly esteemed, Dr. *Louis Correa*, was in his extreme old age, supported by the bounty of Bishop *Tartonio* of *Portugal*. *Philip* wrote to the Prelate with his own hand, reprehending him severely for what he had done, and threatening him if he continued his kindness; so that the good Bishop was forced to withdraw his charity from a man of merit in great necessity, for fear of drawing on himself the vengeance of a Prince who never forgave. He was so inexorable on this subject, that even when the Cortes assembled at *Lisbon* on Jan. 26, 1583, to acknowledge the Prince Don *Philip* as
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next heir of the crown, had petitioned him to grant a general pardon without exception, representing the great good that would accrue thence to *Portugal*, and how little prejudicial it could be to his interest; they were refused this, and every thing else that they asked of any consequence. Such were the beginnings of an harsh, of a foreign government, very different from that of their natural Princes.

Philip on the 11th of *February* following, returned into *Castile*, having put a lawyer and merchant both *Castilians*, into the council of the *Hazienda*, or royal demesne and revenue, to shew how he intended to keep his other promises. Those who enjoyed charges or dignities of the crown or realm by sea or land, in virtue of grants from former Kings, were to continue in the enjoyment and exercise thereof: Yet a month did not pass before *Philip* changed all those officers, except such as abandoned themselves to his will, and were ready to use any violence to favour his injustice. Cardinal *Albert* of *Austria* was left Viceroy of *Portugal*, with the assistance or rather direction of a council. It was generally expected that the petitions, which had been presented long before, would
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now be answered; but the *Portuguese* soon found that *Lisbon* was no longer the place for business. *Albert* would sign nothing; all graces were to be given at *Madrid*; all dispatches were to be there signed: So that the sollicitation of every affair, in which they or their estates were concerned, necessarily became vastly tedious and expensive, as well as very inconvenient and disagreeable. The splendor of a court, so much to the *gout* of the *Portuguese*, was now gone, *Philip* not thinking it proper to keep up the household in its old establishment: And in most respects *Portugal* seemed little better than a province to *Castile*. The arms of this last crown were put on the coin of *Portugal*; and fleets fitted out at the expence of this kingdom, and consisting of *Portuguese* vessels, were ordered for the service of *Castile* without any satisfaction being made to *Portugal*.

Philip as he increased his dominions, increased also his expences. The naval force of *Portugal* being added to that of *Spain*, was an encouragement to him to fit out the *Armada* termed *Invincible*, in order to the invasion of *England*: And the infinite expence of that enterprise made him try all ways of raising money. The duties of entry or passage from

from one kingdom to the other, which had been taken off to ingratiate himself with the *Portuguese*, were soon laid on again, and afterwards raised to a greater height: And the heavy tax upon salt, first levied by King *Sebastian* towards defraying his expedition into *Barbary*, but afterwards abolished by King *Henry*, was revived, and new imposts invented. *Philip* on that occasion inflaming the *Portuguese* zeal for Catholicity by the exhortations of the Pope, and the harangues of preachers ready enough at all times to exalt the merit of contributing to a propagation of the Romish Faith by the reduction of *England*, the greatest support of the Reformed Churches, made use of this zeal to strengthen the *Spanish* interest in *Portugal*. The policy he shewed therein, proved very unhappy to this kingdom, though it was very necessary for himself, to keep the possession of a throne to which he had so little pretence of right, that he could not rely much on the principles and conscience of his subjects: For things subsist by the same means that produce them; and a dominion acquired by bribery mixed with force, can hardly be maintained without corruption. He considered that the body of the *Portuguese* nation, fond of the
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independency of their crown, mortal enemies to the *Castilians*, and suffering continual inconveniences and oppressions from being united, or rather subject to *Spain*, could never be heartily reconciled to his government; and therefore judged it proper to engage the greatest persons of the kingdom, by their private interest, to support it, that whenever the people were disposed to revolt, the want of an head might prevent or defeat their measures. With this view he borrowed large sums of all the grandees and principal of the nobility, mortgaging by way of security to them and their heirs, the customs of merchandise coming from the *Indies*; a burden which lay heavy on the revenue, and which has been ever since enjoyed by those great families till the time of the Prince now reigning.

To supply this defalcation, *Philip* had recourse to various measures for raising money. Thus he laid a new tax of 3 *per cent.* on all merchandise, under pretence of maintaining a fleet to guard the coast and trade from pyrates; and it was so indeed applied for six years; but then it was turned to the King's ordinary revenue, and the seas were left without defence. There was an old tax called the *Terzes* or the third penny,
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which had been always appropriated for the defence of the kingdom, and the repairs of the walls and fortifications of towns; and there was another called the *Cruciata*, set apart for supplying and maintaining the forts in *Africa* against Infidels. Both these were still levied but diverted from those uses and sent to *Castile*, whilst the walls were falling down, and the forts left in a ruinous condition. If *Philip* was not tender of the purses of his *Portuguese* subjects, he seemed as little careful of the honour of the nation, in delivering up *Arzila* to *Muley Hamet* Emperor of *Morocco*, to keep him from lending 200000 crowns to *Don Antonio*, who had on Oct. 25, 1588, sent his son *Christopher* from *England* to *Fez*, as an hostage for the repayment of that sum, which *Hamet* had promised to advance at the instance of *Queen Elizabeth*. This failure on the part of that Infidel Prince was undoubtedly a great detriment to the expedition undertaken in the year following, when *Antonio* made a descent upon *Portugal*, with the assistance of a fleet and a body of forces from *England*; though it is hard to say it was the sole cause of the miscarriage, since probably the landing
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first at *Coruna*, where the plague got among the troops and weakened them exceedingly by sickness, might contribute thereto. This at least is certain, that the enterprize came to nothing, and Queen *Elizabeth* ascribes it entirely to the want of that money in her letter to *Muley Hamet* of Oct. 19, 1590.

Philip II. of *Spain*, dying September 13, 1598, was succeeded by his son *Philip III.* who living till March 31, 1621, left *Philip IV.* the heir of his dominions. In the reigns of these several Princes, very little regard was had to the stipulations made with *Portugal*. The kingdom was to be maintained in its laws, customs, privileges and liberties; yet all were violated in effect: And instead of provisions being granted and judgments given in the *dernier resort* at *Lisbon*, all provisions were sent from *Madrid*, and appeals made from *Lisbon* to *Castile*. The States or Cortes were to be held within the realm, and no where else was any resolution to be taken relating to the crown of *Portugal*; yet the Cortes were called but twice during all the sixty years of the *Spanish* government: And nothing was consulted at *Lisbon* till determinations were first sent from *Madrid*. The King was to reside in *Portugal* as much and as often

as possible; yet *Philip* II. was there but once, *Philip* III. but four months, and *Philip* IV. never: And the household establishment was kept suppressed in all their reigns. The Viceroy was always to be either a native of *Portugal*, or a Prince of the blood, son, brother, uncle, nephew, sister, niece or cousin of the King, yet when any of the royal family bore the title, the power, by an usual effect of the *Spanish* politicks in the *Low-Countries* and other places, was in reality in the hands of a *Spaniard*. Thus when the Princess of *Mantua* was Vice-queen, the Marquess *de la Puebla* having the confidence of the court, was to assist in council, and in all dispatches; and she was to do nothing without his direction or advice. The council of *Portugal* was to be composed entirely of natives; yet was filled with *Castilians*; as the garrisons also were, though the contrary had been promised. The presidents of provinces or corregidores were to be *Portuguese*; but by keeping those offices to himself the King eluded this article. No commendams were to be granted, except to natives; yet the Duke of *Villa-hermosa* and other *Spaniards*, enjoyed some of the richest and most considerable. No city, town, tract of country

country or royal rights and jurisdictions were to be given unless to *Portuguese*; yet these were disposed of to *Castilians*, and the Duke of *Lerma* had *Beja*, *Serpa*, and other parts of the demesnes of the crown, which used to serve as appanages of the Princes of the blood. None but *Portuguese* were capable of offices of justice, of the revenue, of the fleet and army, or indeed of any post civil or military; yet these were given promiscuously to foreigners and natives, or sold to the highest bidder; not excepting even the governments of castles, cities and provinces. The natives were so far from having an equal chance with others in such cases, that no posts in the presidials were ever given to them, and scarce ever any in garrisons; and whenever it happened so in the case of a person of extraordinary merit or of eminent services, he was either soon removed, or not allowed to exercise his charge; as appeared in the Marquess of *Marialva*, and other instances. The forms of proceeding, the jurisdiction, the Ministers, the secretaries were all changed in the council of *Portugal*; whereas the councils of *Arragon*, *Italy*, and *Flanders*, were all preserved as in their first establishment, whilst that of the first was

REVOLUTIONS of

reduced from five to three, then to two, and at last to a single person. These alterations scarce left any marks of their antient constitution.

The changes were not less in the point of commerce. The *Portuguese* had been assured that a fleet should be constantly kept off their coast for the security thereof, and for the freedom of trade; and whenever it was needful, this should be reinforced with *Castilian* ships; but instead thereof, the fleet of *Portugal* was employed on all occasions, and almost ruined in the *Spanish* service; and what grated hard on every body's spirit, the *Portuguese* Admiral and General were always to obey the *Castilian*. They had no fleet or galleys to cruize at sea, to escort vessels, to secure the ports, or scour the coasts, so that the sea was full of rovers, the *Moors* often made descents upon land, navigation was unsafe, and commerce daily decaying. The number of ships sent to the *Indies* gradually lessened; and whereas twenty used to go and return annually, and scarce one of these miscarried, the number was reduced to two or three in a year, and these forrily laden, and generally half of them lost or taken in the sight of port by corsairs; so that above 200 great galleons,
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besides an infinite number of other vessels were lost, whilst *Portugal* was under the crown of *Spain*. If a fine ship was built at *Lisbon*, it was straight put into the *Spanish* fleet; so that people were discouraged from building such ships as used formerly to make twelve, fifteen, or more voyages, and dealt in such as would scarce bear thrice sailing to the *Indies*.

The arsenal and magazines of *Portugal* were emptied of their artillery and arms of all sorts, so that above 2000 pieces of brass cannon, and an infinite quantity of iron were carried away into *Spain*; and in the grand place of *Seville* there were 900 cannon to be seen at a time,³ marked with the arms of *Portugal*. This might possibly be one reason, why, whenever it was necessary to fit out *Portuguese* fleets for the guard of the coast, or the service of *Brasil*, *Guinea*, or the *Indies*, they were either negligently or too late fitted out, and sent away so weak and unprovided that they were of no advantage to the kingdom.

The *Portuguese* were not admitted to the *West-Indian Trato* or commerce, though they had been flattered with the prospect of glorious advantages from that traffick; whilst the *Flemings* were al-

lowed to trade to the *Portuguese* plantations, and the merchants of *Lisbon* were made subservient to those of *Seville* in all their commerce. How little the court of *Madrid* had the trade of *Portugal* at heart, if they had not really a design to ruin it, appears remarkably from one particular. When the King of *Spain* made in 1609, a truce with *Holland*, it was limited so that it should not extend to countries beyond the equinoctial; as if contrived on purpose that the *Portuguese* settlements in *Brazil*, *Ethiopia*, and the *East-Indies* might have no benefit thereof, and all their plantations and commerce in those parts be exposed to the attempts of the *Hollanders*. In consequence hereof, the *Dutch* were soon enabled to take *Gale*, *Colombo*, and drive them entirely out of the isle of *Ceylon*, and other parts of the *East-Indies*, and thereby monopolize the cinnamon trade to themselves; and likewise out of *Ternate*, *Tydore*, and most of the *Molucco* islands, whereby they became masters also of that spice and pepper. These were not the only losses of the *Portuguese*. *Ormus* was wrested from them by the *Persians*: The ports of *Mina* and *Arguin* in *Guinea*, with *Pernambuco*, and a great part of *Brazil* were

were seized by the *Dutch*, who also took the strong and important place of *Malaca* in the *East-Indies* after a siege of six months in 1640. These losses served in truth for a pretext to raise money in order to recover those places, but it was still diverted elsewhere; and the *Portuguese* saw themselves in imminent danger of utter ruin, when all countries in *Europe* that were before their friends, were made enemies by their union with *Castile*.

The revenue of the crown was by *Philip's* stipulations to be spent in *Portugal*, yet was soon applied to supply the wants of *Spain*. Pensions were sold to a multitude of persons, and then appointed to be paid out of the ordinary revenue of *Portugal*, as if it was the butt of every needy and craving courtier, to satiate his avarice, or relieve his necessity: So that whereas it used to bring in six millions of gold, scarce 80000 crowns came clear into the king's exchequer. The tax of salt was raised to more than the value of the commodity; and then with the middle annates from graces (which brought in 400000 crowns a year) and the profit of all confiscations of merchandise were constantly appropriated to the service of *Castile*. The money
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levied on the clergy of *Portugal*, and the tax on oil and olive-presses, were applied to the same service. The excise laid on every pound of flesh and pint of wine to a fourth part of its value, was reserved to the building of the palaces of *Buen Retiro*, and *Galinero* near *Madrid*. A duty laid by the common council of the city of *Lisbon*, in order to build a conduit for the use of the inhabitants, and to convey water over it, was after being some time managed by the city officers, and applied to that purpose, seized by *Philip* III. for his own use, and afterwards by *Philip* IV. extended to all the cities of the kingdom. Every parish in the realm was charged with a new assessment for furnishing ball to the soldiers: And the *Castilian* projectors exercised their wits so well in inventing, as the government did their power in laying new subsidies of an extraordinary nature, that out of these alone, from *A. D.* 1626, to 1633, 3230000 crowns of gold were brought into the King of *Spain's* coffers, and a much greater sum afterwards from that last year to 1640. Upon the whole, the *Portuguese* writers compute, that from 1584 to 1626, the *Spanish* government cost *Portugal* above 100 millions of gold, without any advantage

tage to the grandees or people: And what was drained from them afterwards was very little less than that sum. Some circumstances rendered these heavy imposts still more odious: The money was squandered away to ill uses; the taxes were employed in superfluities, in buildings for which there could be no pretence or excuse of necessity; there was great cruelty in levying, and the utmost unfaithfulness in the management thereof, the ministers and officers who were the readiest to exhaust the people, being the slowest to give the King an accompt: A great deal stuck in the collectors hands, and then new levies were made to supply deficiencies; extravagant luxury among the officers at court, whilst the poor people were starving, and the money, instead of being spent at home, employed for the benefit of foreigners.

If the people in general complained of these taxes which impoverished them, the clergy were uneasy on other accounts. *Philip II.* had stipulated, that he would not ask the Pope to make him any grant of either crusadoes, or the third penny of ecclesiastical revenues to be levied in *Portugal*. *Philip IV.* did not indeed ask the Pope, but raised both by his own absolute authority. The Clergy resented
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this invasion of their privileges, and complained of the pensions granted out of their livings, and of the shameful delays of filling sees and ecclesiastical dignities, that the King might so much the longer have the profits of the vacancies, and the *Oeconomi* appointed by him make an hand of the goods of the church. All prelatures and ecclesiastical dignities, and all commanderies of orders (of which there were not above 500 in the kingdom) were to be given only to the *Portuguese*; yet the *Castilians* enjoyed all the great ones, and none but the small were left to the others: So *Ferdinand* Cardinal Infante of *Spain* who died on Oct. 2, 1641, enjoyed not only the great priory of *Crato*, but was also Commendatory Abbot of *Alcobaza*, with 40000 crowns rent, whilst the Conventual Abbot had little. This affected not only the clergy, but the nobility and gentry too, who were likewise uneasy to find they could get no military charges but what were the leavings or refuse of the *Castilians*, they being generally given to fawning courtiers and their relations, who had never seen an enemy, instead of heroes whose actions formerly raised them thereto, so that none could by distinguishing services hope for any recompence, and all that
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emulation which excites to gallant actions, being by this means destroyed, *Portugal* so famous in former days for prodigies of valour, lost at once all its reputation. Many of the best families were dishonoured by poverty, and scarce able to subsist; whilst others that did not want money had loans extorted from them, and were ill treated if they declined lending, as if the design was to impoverish them all in general. No fiefs, jurisdictions, or escheats to the crown, were to be disposed of except to *Portuguese*, yet great numbers of families were banished purely to introduce *Castilians*, who had also titles of Noblesse granted them, and the richest heiresses of *Portugal* were given to poor gentlemen of *Castile*, that they might find those riches in other countries which they wanted in their own. It was deemed no small grievance to have the young nobility carried to *Madrid* to be educated, and such as were grown up to be drawn thither, and to dance attendance at court in fallacious hopes of preferment, generally to the ruin of their fortunes and families; and if not deceived, but preferred to a profitable government in the *Indies*, and returning home with the reputation of being rich, to be for that reason immediately

diately called to an account, prosecuted with fury, clapped up in prison under idle pretences, and forced in order to put an end to a tedious and arbitrary lawsuit, to compound with some powerful courtier or minister. If any body offered to complain of such hardships, there was no want of delators, who upon the great but scandalous encouragement given, came from all quarters to inform against them, nor of severity in the usage and punishment that followed. The bravest of their gentry might serve in the armies of *Spain*, and distinguish themselves by their courage and services, yet could never rise there, nor be preferred to posts that were due to them in their order; of which Don *Philip de Silva* Count of *Linares*, and *Diego Louis de Olivera* were remarkable instances. The orders of knighthood were often made venal, and sold to worthless persons; that of *Christ* particularly, was frequently given away to *Flemings*, and other foreigners for services done to *Castile*, and at last the whole revenue of the order was sacrilegiously alienated: And yet the *Portuguese* were never dignified with any of those orders belonging to *Spain*. That of the *Golden Fleece*, though in all times bestowed on strangers,
Italians

Italians, Germans, and others, never yet did honour to a Portuguese: Nor was any of this last country ever put into any office about court, in the household, or in the chapel royal; which, when there was no longer a court in their own country, ought certainly to have been common to them with other subjects. None of the nation, however deserving, were ever seen even in councils of war, or in the tribunals of justice, or in any episcopal see out of their own country, at the time that all other nations under his Catholick Majesty were so preferred over all his dominions. Alexander, brother to the Duke of Braganza, was refused the see of Evora, under pretence that he was not Doctor of Divinity, when at the same time a son of the Archduke of Tirol, Leopold, not three years old was made Bishop of Viseo: And though Portugal did not want ecclesiasticks that were eminent for their piety and learning as well as quality; yet there was not any one Cardinal of that nation made during the sixty years that Portugal continued under the Castilian yoke.

These things could not fail to grate hard on the minds of the *Portuguese*, and dispose them to shake off a government,

ment, under which which they suffered so much oppression, and instead of hoping relief from what they already groaned under, saw new burdens prepared to enhance their miseries. The *Spanish* ministers, as if the taxes of that people were not high enough, and as if they had formed a design of impoverishing them entirely, were in 1640, preparing twenty taxes of different kinds to be laid on them. All petitions were to be charged with a duty; an impost was to be laid on paper; a tax also upon houses and chimneys; the fifth part of every man's goods was to be levied, and in order thereto, every body was to give an account of his moveables by an exact inventory thereof; five hundred thousand ducats were to be laid on immoveables; the tenth part of the value of all bargains and sales had been long paid, but now it was to be raised a fourth part higher; and among other new taxes, one was to be laid on corn for a fund of 500000 crowns a year, in a country the barrenness of whose soil does not produce enough for its inhabitants, and where it is always sufficiently dear. It is strange they should think of these or other excises, when the nation had expressed so much uneasiness under former oppressions.

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In 1636, a new tax (called the *fifth*) of five *per cent.* on all revenues and merchandise, gave occasion to an insurrection in the *Algarves*, which, had it not been stopped in the beginning by the great care and prudence of the Queen, would have put the whole kingdom in a combustion. There had been another at *Evora* in 1637, on the account of heavy taxes, the violent manner of raising them, and the insolence of the collectors. The town sent Deputies to the Duke of *Braganza*, offering their lives and fortunes to place him on the throne; but his Grace not caring to take a step without mature counsel and a formed concert, rejected their offers, and by his endeavours kept all *Alentejo* quiet, which else was ready to rise.

The *Spanish* Ministers were sensible that the nation was ripe for a revolt; but despised the discontents of the people, and thought they had secured the kingdom by force, and provided sufficiently against the danger. They had upon those tumults and disturbances sent a body of soldiers from *Biscay* into *Estremadura* to lye ready on the frontiers. They had put strong *Castilian* garrisons into three places in the *Algarves*, into *Cabo San Vincent*, *Setuval*, *Porto*, *Viana*,
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and other places. They had taken particular care of *Lisbon*, placed good bodies of old and expert soldiers in the castle and forts that commanded the city and harbour, and had provided them all with artillery, ammunition, and other necessaries, as well as with experienced officers at their head that had seen much service, and were under the command of Colonels, a Major-General, and a Captain-General. They had added also a new *corps de garde*; and for the greater security, a *Spanish* fleet was usually stationed at *Lisbon*, and either in whole or in part wintered there. Besides these standing forces in which they chiefly confided, they had been continually draining *Portugal* of what was necessary for its defence, had carried thence above 300 great ships, and emptied the magazines of those arms which might else have fallen into the hands of the people.

They had from time to time drawn away the best and bravest spirits of the country under pretence of serving the King in his wars, and no less than 6000 foot and a good body of horse had been lately raised for the service of *Catalonia*. They published likewise on this occasion an edict, requiring all the Noblesse of *Portugal* to serve in that war under
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the pain, as well of forfeiting their estates held of the crown but derived from their ancestors and merited by their services, and of being declared infamous and traytors. The nobility summoned on this pretence to *Madrid*, were there kept in exile, and in a miserable way, abundance of them not having wherewithal to subsist. Among others the Count of *Santa Croce* had been sent for by the King's order; after some stay he desired leave to return home, but it was refused, unless he would pay 6000 crowns for his ransom; which he rejecting with indignation, was detained prisoner in *Castile*. They had thus got 3 or 4000 *Portuguese* Gentlemen to *Madrid* and either attending there or dispersed in *Castile*, that served, according to their notion, as so many hostages for the fidelity of their relations. They had always taken care to sow and keep up discords between the nobility, and to perpetuate quarrels between particular families, thereby to prevent their uniting and acting in concert for the liberty of their country.

This they had laboured more particularly with regard to the house of *Braganza*, whose claim to the crown, and vast fortune in the kingdom gave them great

apprehensions, and was the reason why no honours and favours had ever been bestowed thereon to make it greater. They knew the people in general loved the family: And when *Philip III.* entered *Lisbon* attended by Prince *Theodosius* of *Braganza*, the people could not refrain from declaring their affection to the latter, and when afterwards some disturbance or noise was heard about his palace, they all rose in his favour. The Ministers for these reasons left no arts untried to set the nobility at variance with that family. They were in the present circumstances of the nation, more particularly jealous of Duke *John* then living, who, to avoid suspicion, had retired to his seat of *Villa Viciosa* far from the commerce of the *Portuguese* gentry; and therefore made use of various temptations to draw him to *Madrid*. They offered him the government of *Milan*; but he excused himself from accepting it, as being utterly ignorant of *Italian* affairs. By particular privileges and agreements the Dukes of *Braganza* were not obliged to go to war, unless the sovereign himself went in person. Hence the other expedient failing, they next invited him to court upon strong assurances, that the King would take the field in

in person, and desired his company: But as he was aware of their designs, he pleaded inability to bear the expence of such an equipage as his quality required. Their other baits and offers proved as fruitless; and so did all the precautions they used, greater than which could not well be taken to prevent an insurrection; yet all vanished in a moment, and a revolution was brought about almost in an instant, without the stroke of a sword, or the least bloodshed.

The body of the people, who in all countries furnish the hands to be made use of in all insurrections, had, out of their inveterate hatred to the *Castilian* name, and the horrible exactions they endured, been ever averse to that government, and ready for an insurrection: But the terror of the new impositions going to be laid upon them, rendered them now entirely desperate. The Noblesse, *i. e.* the gentry or nobility without titles, had long complained of being denied the privileges, charges, dignities, and honours which their ancestors had enjoyed, and of wanting those usual ways of preferment, by which under their native Kings they had been enabled to provide for their families, and especially their younger children, either in

the church, the law, the fleet, or the army; where nothing was disposed of, but in a way of bribery and corruption. They had no little indignation to see mean and ignoble fellows make a splendid figure at court, employed in the charges of government and justice, all tax-gatherers growing rich, outshining them in equipage and luxury, and insulting them by their power; for all offices were venal and bought with money, whilst the ancient families were slighted, ridiculed, oppressed, and falling every day more and more into contempt and ruin. They had long laboured under these and other grievances; but the evil, or at least the sense of it, having come upon them gradually, and being in a manner habituated thereto, they were less affected therewith, than with more recent evils, which had risen up in their own time, and had not been felt by their fathers.

Philip IV. an inactive Prince, left the government of all his realms and the management of all his affairs to the *Conde Duke of Olivarez*, a minister who did not want capacity, was artful and indefatigable; but whose temper or politicks made him chuse to govern by terror rather than love, and who seemed to
understand

understand no arts of rendering people obedient, but oppression and corruption. *Margaret* of *Savoy* had been for seven years Vice-queen of *Portugal*, a lady of excellent sense, spirit, and magnanimity, but she had only the title and figure of a Governor, being so instructed to follow the advice of the Marquess *de la Puebla* elder brother to the Marquess of *Leganez*, that she durst scarce speak or lift up her eyes without the leave of her director. His advice was requisite in in all matters, but the dispatch of all the *Portuguese* affairs rested in two persons, *Pedro Suarez* Secretary of the council of *Portugal* at *Madrid*, who was father-in-law and brother-in-law to the other, *viz. Michael Vasconcellos*, Secretary of State and of the council at *Lisbon*, a man morose and proud in his nature, insolent in speech and action, avaricious and rapacious; but yet crafty, close, and of extraordinary penetration, readiness, comprehension and diligence in business. These two last perfectly hated the Noblesse of *Portugal*, and took a pleasure in finding out new ways of mortifying, dispiriting, and reducing them to a state of beggary and slavery. That this was their view, appeared clearly enough by some letters of *Vasconcellos*

to *Olivarez* which chanced to be intercepted, and shewed the *Portuguese* gentlemen the project and plan formed for uniting or subjecting the kingdom more closely and absolutely to *Castile*, and for ruining the gentlemen for that purpose. This was confirmed soon after by the effects of their concerted measures; and the insurrection of *Catalonia* in 1639, furnished them with a pretext and means of effecting this design at once.

It must be observed, that in all foreign countries the burthen of taxes lies either upon the mercantile part of the world, or on the common people. Noble fiefs and gentlemen feel no land tax as we do here; nor are they subject to talliages or other duties, aids or imposts which are laid upon ignoble persons and tenures: So that the Gentry or Noblesse are not immediately affected by the heavy burdens which consume and devour the substance of merchants and *roturiers*; nor do they feel them otherwise than by the greater dearness of provisions, and other necessities and conveniences of life. The service annexed to such noble and military tenures, of taking the field and serving the crown in war, is instead of all taxes: And this service the *Portuguese* gladly discharged in former times, when
their

their valour or distinguished merit was the means of preferment, and a sure recommendation to dignities and charges that were usually given in the way of recompence. But those advantages had ceased ever since the *Castilians* had governed; and yet on occasion of the revolt of *Catalonia*, all that held any fiefs noble were summoned to serve in that war, on pain of being declared infamous and traitors, and deprived of their estates. An account had on this occasion in 1639 been taken of the numbers of fit persons to bear arms all over the kingdom; and they were found to amount to 209700 men, besides 2500 horse. The gentlemen indeed were not enrolled in this general muster, yet the number of their vassals was known thereby: And when the order was notified for their march to *Catalonia* with their vassals, it was signified at the same time that the court would, by the number of their followers, be enabled to judge of each gentleman's zeal for his Prince, and inclination to the service. The Duke of *Braganza* had accordingly sent an extraordinary number of his vassals: And abundance of the Noblesse had been forced to repair to *Madrid*; some hundreds of them passing on to *Catalonia*, but the

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the rest detained in that city as hostages for the fidelity of their relations and dependants, living in the mean time at a great expence, in a kind of exile, absent from their families, overwhelmed with difficulties, many of them starving, and yet not suffered to return home to look after their affairs. The treatment of the Counts of *Santa Croce*, *Prado*, *Miranda*, *Sabugal*, and *Portalegro* was so extraordinary, and the miserable condition of others was so well known, that this drawing of them to *Madrid*, and their usage there, gave strong suspicions of some very ill design, of which there was no longer any doubt after the letters of *Vasconcellos* abovementioned had been intercepted. The rest of the gentlemen yet at home, seeing nothing but ruin attending their obedience, were infinitely averse to the thoughts of going to *Madrid*, and resolved to run any extremity rather than leave their country, to stand the forfeitures threatened to disobedience, and expect the weight of the menaces with which they were terrified, and from which they had no hopes of relaxation. Thus incensed, distressed, and in danger of utter ruin, they appeared likely to take any measures for safety, out of regard to their own interest; and began to

to look upon the house of *Braganza*, to which they had never before shewed any attachment, as the only means of saving themselves, their families, and their country.

The grandees or titled nobility were, of all orders of men, the least inclined to a change of government, and the most averse to the House of *Braganza*. The *Spanish* Ministers had always courted them as thinking that, as long as those who naturally were to serve for heads to the people continued well affected to their government, there could be no danger of an insurrection, at least of any that could possibly be successful. They had borrowed money of these grandees at great præmiums, and mortgaged the crown revenue to them for their reimbursement; so that for the sake of their own interest they were obliged to support the government. They had not only alienated a great part of that revenue among them, but had increased their number; *Philip* II. and III. having, in the time of their reigns, bestowed more titles of Count, Marquess, and Duke (in the rank of which the same order is observed in *Portugal* as is in *England*, though it be otherwise in every other country in *Europe*) than had been
given

given since *Portugal* was a nation. They had distributed great charges and governments among these, and made them hereditary in their families; contrary to the constant maxims of the Kings of *Portugal*, who never gave but temporary charges, reserving them still as a reward to personal merit, and a recompence of particular services, to raise an emulation among the gentry, and incite them by the hopes thereof to honourable and heroic actions. They had used all arts to raise animosities between the other grandees and the Duke of *Braganza*, whom alone they dreaded on account of his title to the crown, his great popularity, the vast possessions and number of vassals belonging to him, and which rendered him perhaps too great for a subject, being supreme Lord of all the large and rich province of *Alentejo*, the granary of *Portugal*, (all the gentlemen whereof held under him) and of the greatest part of that of *Tra los montes*, where his duchy of *Braganza* lay, and in truth of a third part of the kingdom. The grandees easily gave in to the *Spanish* measures, out of envy to the greatness of the house of *Braganza*, which eclipsed the splendor of their own. The Duke

Duke of *Aveiro*, and the Marquess of *Villa-real*, who had also the duchy of *Camina* in his family, were of the blood royal, and thought themselves on an equal foot with the Duke of *Braganza*: And except the Marquess of *Fereira*, and the Count of *Vimioso* descended of bastard branches of his family, all the rest of the grandees did not care to see the Duke become their superior.

John Duke of *Braganza*, despairing of any assistance from these, founded all his hopes of the crown, which he had ever considered as his right, on an union of the Noblesse and people, who had a distrust of each other, in his favour. He was a man of good sense, but naturally dilatory and diffident; of a cool temper and sound judgment, but no enterprizing genius; indolent and unactive, either out of inclination or policy for fear of giving more umbrage to the *Spaniards*, passing almost all his time in hunting and other rural sports, which seemed to take up all his thoughts, though he was all the while watching an occasion to make his way to the throne. He had an agent *John Pinto Ribeiro* Doctor of Law, who managed all his affairs at *Lisbon*, an active, vigilant, intrepid, indefatigable man, that knew the world

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world and mankind perfectly well, and was extremely passionate for his master's interest. This man had instructions to try the minds of the people, and see if the Noblesse who had long been divided by *Spanish* arts, might at last be brought to enter into a concert and engage in the Duke's favour. *Pinto* set about the affair with equal address and industry. *Rodrigo d'Acunha* Archbishop of *Lisbon*, a very learned prelate, able in the management of affairs, a particular friend to the Duke, and as much an enemy to the *Spaniards*, by whom he was hated, and on that account probably the more beloved by the people, was very serviceable in forming this union. It was an affair of a very delicate nature, and hard to know whom to trust in a time of so general a corruption. He got some of the chief of the Noblesse to meet and consult together about means to redress their own grievances, and prevent the ruin of their country. These were *Michael d'Almeida* a venerable old man, universally esteemed, who had never paid court to the *Spanish* Ministers, *Antonio Almada* an intimate friend of that prelate's, and his son *Louis*, *Peter Mendoza*, the great huntsman *Mello*, and *Louis d'Acunha* the Archbishop's nephew who had

had married *Almada's* daughter. They readily agreed in a sense of their grievances, and in the desire of redress; but they differed much as to the means of procuring it, and were afraid lest by endeavouring in vain to shake off the *Spanish* yoke, they might lay a foundation for still greater calamities, and hasten their own destruction. Some were for setting up a common-wealth; but it was no difficult matter for the Archbishop to shew the impracticableness of that scheme, and the impossibility of uniting the Noblesse and people in any other but that of putting the Duke of *Braganza* upon the throne, to which he had so plausible a title, in the opinion of all the people of the kingdom.

This being resolved on, the difficulties of the enterprize came under consideration. It was urged, "That though
"the common people were ready enough
"to rise in all places, yet their efforts
"were usually sudden and violent, but
"not lasting and regular; and when they
"met with difficulties and dangers,
"they would be apt to fall away and
"leave those who had put themselves
"at their head to the mercy of their enemies: That proper chiefs were wanting to raise them in all places at once:
"That

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“ That most of the grandees were in the
 “ *Spanish* interest, and the three princi-
 “ pal houses of *Braganza*, *Aveiro*, and
 “ *Villa-real*; all of the blood royal,
 “ were at daggers drawing with one a-
 “ nother; and if the first of these was set
 “ up for their general head, the others
 “ would be sure to oppose their enter-
 “ prise: That the Noblesse too being di-
 “ vided by the enmities between parti-
 “ cular families, though they generally
 “ laboured under the same grievances,
 “ yet their private animosities would
 “ hinder them from uniting in the com-
 “ mon cause: That the power of *Spain*
 “ was very great, and sufficient to reduce
 “ them in a moment; for they were not
 “ an island surrounded with water, and
 “ situated at such a distance as *Holland*,
 “ nor so near to foreign assistance as *Ca-*
 “ *talonia*, which bordering upon *France*
 “ by land, and open to it by a very short
 “ passage at sea, might with ease be con-
 “ tinually supplied from thence with suc-
 “ cours, and it was these situations had
 “ enabled those countries to subsist after
 “ their revolt; but were on the same
 “ continent with *Spain*, in a narrow
 “ slip or corner of that country, and en-
 “ compassed by it on three sides, with-
 “ out being able to receive any relief
 “ unless

“ unless by sea; which after all was very
“ uncertain, because they had no assur-
“ ance of any foreign assistance, and
“ must necessarily be very slow by rea-
“ son of the distance of the powers from
“ which it might be hoped; the danger
“ of the seas, and the inconstancy of the
“ wind and weather: That all the forts and
“ towns were possessed by *Spanish* garrisons,
“ and would be so many receptacles for
“ that deluge of enemies which would
“ fall upon them from all quarters of
“ *Spain*: That some of the forts holding
“ out would expose them to all the mi-
“ series of an intestine war, and being
“ harraßed by continual excursions from
“ such garrisons, they should not be in a
“ condition to hold out any time against
“ the *Spanish* power: That the kingdom
“ was impoverished, destitute of arms
“ and shipping, not fit for war, nor able
“ to bear the expence: And that in fine
“ it was proper to consider how to pro-
“ vide against these difficulties before
“ they engaged in an attempt.

It was replied, “ That the *Spanish* go-
“ vernment was so universally odious to
“ the nation, that there was no need of
“ any foreign force to overthrow it:
“ That such was the fury of the people,
“ they would rise of themselves in all
K places,

“ places, and at least would follow any
“ gentleman that would put himself at
“ their head; so that the Grandees ap-
“ pearing was no way necessary, and the
“ Noblesse would make a greater figure
“ by bringing about a revolution of
“ themselves; and nothing but the doubt
“ or fear the people had of not being
“ supported by the gentlemen, had hi-
“ therto kept them quiet; otherwise the
“ tumult at *Evora* three years before,
“ would have spread all over the nation:
“ That the Duke of *Braganza*, who
“ would be their common head, had a
“ vast body of gentlemen for his vassals
“ and dependants, and was master of a
“ third part of the kingdom; and the
“ notion of his right to the crown was so
“ strongly impressed on the minds of
“ the people, that all the rest would rise
“ in his favour: That the *Spanish* troops
“ in the garrisons, since the veterans had
“ been drawn off to serve in *Catalonia*,
“ were all composed of new raised men,
“ who had nothing of soldiers but their
“ cloaths and arms, having never seen
“ action, and were only fit for a shew or
“ bugbear to frighten children: That
“ they were not drawn together in a bo-
“ dy, but lay dispersed all over the realm;
“ and being raw unexperienced men,
“ and

“ and distracted by risings in different places, would never be able to assemble, but
“ fall an easy prey to the numerous inhabitants of the great towns where they
“ were quartered, and be glad to save their lives at any rate in the first terrors of a general insurrection: That
“ the other *Spaniards* garrisoned in forts were too few to hurt the country, and
“ would in their consternation generally submit, since the forts were so ill provided that they must needs starve if
“ they pretended to hold out: That arms could not be wanting to people
“ that could seize every thing that was in the great towns and sea ports, and
“ were masters of the country: That the power of *Spain* was vastly reduced by
“ a series of losses, and particularly by the revolt of *Catalonia*, for the recovery whereof all its forces were employed, though without success: That
“ tho’ *Catalonia* was now indeed assisted by *France*, yet the *Catalans* themselves had first seized *Barcelona*, and
“ all the towns in the country by their own force, without any foreign assistance: That the *Portuguese* could much
“ more easily do the same; and when it was done, would undoubtedly be
“ coured by those very powers that were

“ in war with *Spain*, and had been their
 “ enemies before only because they were
 “ the *Spaniards* subjects: That suppos-
 “ ing even the worst, and that they
 “ should have no assistance from abroad,
 “ they had formerly been able to cope
 “ with *Spain* in the height of its power,
 “ and were as able to do the same now
 “ when it was exhausted, and had so ma-
 “ ny other enemies on its hands: And that
 “ whatever hazards might be imagined
 “ to attend the enterprize, it was the
 “ only means of saving themselves from
 “ slavery, and their country from ruin;
 “ and it was much better to dye like
 “ men of honour sword in hand fighting
 “ for their liberty, than to drag on an in-
 “ glorious life, contemned, insulted and
 “ treated like slaves, and to dye at last,
 “ leaving nothing but misery and shame
 “ to their posterity.” After a long de-
 bate, the generous resolution was taken
 for a general rising, if the Duke of *Bra-*
ganza would put himself at their head,
 and assert his right to the crown.

Olivarez knowing that *Portugal* was
 ripe for a revolt, and that nobody but
 the Duke could serve for an head to the
 malecontents, wished at any rate to get
 him into his power: Yet could not seize
 him by force without an army, by reason
 of

of the great train he had always with him in his castle of *Villa Viciosa*, where he lived in the greatest splendor, with a number of attendants almost equal to those of a court, and in the midst of an infinite number of vassals inhabiting all the country about. This made the Minister afraid, that if he should attempt it by force, he might perhaps make the Duke desperate, and precipitate that revolt which he intended to prevent, and which might prove fatal to *Spain* in that juncture. He deemed him of a quiet and un-ambitious nature, but as a crown has mighty charms, and the opportunity of gaining it was not wanting, there was danger enough of his yielding to the temptation.

Thus was *Olivarez* necessitated to make use of fair means, and lay snares for the Duke when other arts had failed. There had been for two years before, a strong rumour of a *French* fleet coming to infest the coasts and make a descent. This being renewed in 1640, he sent a commission to the Duke of *Braganza*, for commanding in chief all the forces in the kingdom, with power to fortify towns, repair forts, and change garri-sons. Orders were sent at the same time from the King, that he should visit the maritime places of the kingdom, and

put them in a condition to oppose the enemy. *Lopez Osorio* the *Spanish* Admiral was commanded to sail with his fleet to the coast of *Portugal*, to touch at such ports as the Duke visited, to treat him with all civilities and honours, to invite him aboard to an entertainment, and then carry him off to *Spain*. The fleet was dispersed by a storm and this project was defeated. New orders were thereupon given; the Duke was to visit all the forts of the kingdom, and put them in a posture of defence, as its only security now the fleet was lost; and 40000 crowns were paid him out of the treasury to defray the expence of fortifications; but the Governors of the forts he was to visit, were directed at the same time to secure his person, and send him under a guard to court. The Duke thought so great a confidence was neither proper to be placed in one that had pretensions to the crown, nor agreeable either to *Olivarez's* nature and usual conduct, or to the present state of things, and therefore suspected some treachery in the matter. He visited all places, and employed the money in gaining the officers and good-will of the soldiers; but never entered any fortress, without a guard sufficient to prevent or defeat any design

design on his person. Thus he eluded the Ministers measures; and by going about the country, had opportunity of increasing his popularity, and of being a witness of the affections of the gentry and people.

In the course of his progress, he came to *Almada*, where he had orders to stay if the *French* fleet did not appear. The principal conspirators *Ant. Almada*, *M. Almeida*, and *Ant. Mendoza*, waited on him there, opened to him their design, and desired his concurrence. He had a vast fortune to lose, and did not care to run that hazard in hopes of a crown, unless upon good grounds; so he thanked them for their offer, and expressed an unwillingness to raise himself to the throne by the danger of so many good friends and the blood of his countrymen; but treated them so well, and seemed so pleased with the motion, that they easily imagined he would come into their measures when ripe, tho' the dilatoriness of his nature made him slow of determining on this, as on all other occasions.

The neighbourhood of the place to *Lisbon*, put him upon paying a visit of respect to the Vice-queen. The day and manner of his reception being fixed, he went to the palace; and was received

with such marks of affection and acclamations by the people of *Lisbon*, who in prodigious multitudes covered the parade, that *Puebla* told her, he did not come so much to pay his duty to her, as to shew his own magnificence and popularity. Such was the ardour and joy of the people to see him, that nothing but his own resolution seemed wanting to his being proclaimed King that moment; But being satisfied with the demonstrations of their good-will, he, without going to his own house, or entering the city, returned to *Almada*.

Oct. 20.

Olivarez alarmed with the account of his reception, and an uncertain rumour about a conspiracy, sent him the King's positive orders for his repair to *Madrid*, to give account of the condition of places to his majesty. The Duke now saw himself plainly struck at, and there was no longer room for delays, but he must either obey the orders sent, and deliver himself up to his enemies, or else engage with the conspirators. He dispatched one of his gentlemen to *Madrid*, to assure the King of his coming: A house was taken for him, servants hired, liveries provided, and all preparations made, as if he was to arrive immediately: But he still framed excuses of delays from

from the illness of his health, and the necessity of fixing the ceremonial of his reception. This last he expected would have taken up a good deal of time in adjusting, because he claimed a privilege above all the grandees of *Spain*, and to sit under the royal canopy, an honour which his ancestors had enjoyed, and was deemed the greatest prerogative of the family: But *Olivarez's* power, and eager desire of having him, got over all difficulties; every thing he asked was granted, and he could make no farther objection in this respect.

The conspirators in the mean time sent *P. Mendoza* to him to fix his resolution. Their short conference in the field on hunting, convinced the latter, that the Duke's fears were the only obstacle to his taking on him the crown, and that he would determine, as soon as he was satisfied about the means of executing the enterprize. To embark him entirely, *Mendoza* engaged the Bishop of *Elvas*, an intimate friend of the Duke's to visit him, and finish the work. The Prelate went accordingly, represented to him the facility of the affair, and assured him of the concurrence of the Noblesse, and particularly of the attachment of *Alonso Mello* Governor of the citadel

citadel of *Elvas*, the strongest fortress of the kingdom, and the first to oppose the attempts of the *Spaniards*, which would be a security to him if affairs went well, and a refuge if otherwise. The Bishop's reasons had a great effect upon the Duke, but before he absolutely engaged, he would consult his wife, a woman of very good sense, and great spirit. She readily told him, "There was no room to hesitate, for he had no other party to take; he must of necessity go either to *Madrid* or *Lisbon*: That he must resolve to dye either ingloriously in the former place, or honourably in the latter: That in the first party he had no other chance, but had a fair probability of gaining a crown by the latter resolution." This determining him, he called in the Bishop of *Elvas*, told him his resolution, and desired no time might be lost in taking the measures necessary. *Pinto* was sent for to *Villa Viciosa*, under colour of being consulted about the county of *Odemira*, which was fallen to him by the failure of that branch of his family; and gave him a particular account of the situation of the affair, the measures proposed, and the cities that were to be seized. The Duke's own opinion was, that the first attempt

attempt should be made at *Lisbon*, the example whereof would draw the rest of the cities after it; and if it should not succeed, he would retire to the *Algarves*, the people whereof had adhered constantly to Don *Antonio*, and were now zealous for the house of *Braganza*: And at worst should have *Elvas* for a refuge.

Pinto carried back letters with him to *M. Almeida*, and *P. Mendoza*; and then began to extend the number of the conspirators; but with great precautions, talking only with one at a time, and each sworn to secrecy. He found them resolved, but not agreed where to make their first and principal effort; most them thinking of *Evora*, formerly the royal city and residence of the Kings, which in their insurrection three years before had shewed their inclinations so fully, that there was no doubt of success; and the first attempt being of such importance that they ought to run no hazards of a miscarriage, it was proper to begin there, and their success would so animate the rest of the kingdom, that they should attack *Lisbon* already inclined to them, with a much greater force than otherwise was possible. *Pinto* insisted, " That to begin any
" where else but with *Lisbon*, would be
" attended

“attended with great inconveniences,
“and give time to the government to
“send orders every where, to have the
“*Spaniards* and their friends in arms,
“forts prepared, fleets in readiness, mea-
“sures taken to prevent the people from
“rising: And succours coming from
“*Castile* to *Lisbon* either by sea or land,
“might render the attempt on it im-
“practicable, and lay the foundation of
“an intestine war, to the great calami-
“ty and ruin of the kingdom: That it
“was necessary by all means to begin
“with *Lisbon*, the reputation whereof
“would carry the whole kingdom after
“it: That this was the head which com-
“municated life and vigour to all the
“members of the body, the seat of the
“government, and the securing of it
“was securing likewise the persons of all
“that had authority in the realm, and
“could direct their enemies what to do:
“That it was the center of all the riches
“of *Portugal*, the principal magazine
“of arms and naval stores, and would
“supply them with all necessaries: That
“it was a very easy matter at present to
“seize it by surprise, the government
“being secure and without apprehensi-
“ons, the guards careless, and the sacri-
“ficing of *Vasconcellos* to the publick
“hatred

“ hatred, and securing the Vice-queen,
“ would make them at once absolute
“ masters of the city, and indeed of the
“ whole realm; particularly of *Evora*,
“ which his master was already sure of
“ as well by the overtures of the inhabi-
“ tants, as by the credit and power of
“ the Marquess of *Fereira* in the place.”

By these and other arguments drawn from the late acclamations of the people of *Lisbon*, the number of inhabitants, and their own residence there, *Pinto* prevailed with the conspirators to make their first and great attempt there, by surprising the palace, and securing the Vice-queen and Ministers. It was resolved, to prepare all matters for that purpose, and the beginning of *March* 1641, was fixed for the time of execution; a long time to delay an enterprize, the success whereof depended on secrecy.

There had been fifty persons concerned one way or other in this affair, for near five months before this final resolution was taken; and it was now necessary to engage more. It was scarce to be expected that such a secret should be kept by so many persons without being discovered by the imprudence or infidelity of one of the number. It was even said that a gentleman to whom it had been

been imparted, went to *Madrid* and gave *Olivarez* an account of the design; but before the resolution was taken as to *Lisbon*: And the Count of *Villa-nueva* was suspected to be the man, having, after he had been very zealous in dissuading the gentlemen from going to *Catalonia*, been perswaded himself by the Count of *Bainete* to go to *Madrid*. But whether it was really so, or out of an uncertain rumour, the ordinary forerunner of great enterprises, *Olivarez* pressed the Duke of *Braganza's* immediate coming to court, and to disarm him of his last excuse, sent him an order on the treasury for 20000 crowns for his journey. The courier was received with great careſſes, and well rewarded for his pains, to engage him to give a favourable report of the Duke's proceedings and sentiments, who ſignified his deſign of going immediately to the Vice-queen, and wrote *Vasconcellos* word, he would be at *Madrid* in eight days. Orders were given in the couriers preſence for all things neceſſary for the voyage: Nothing was to be ſeen at *Villa Vicioſa* but preparations for an immediate ſetting out, and and part of the Duke's equipage and attendants with carriages were actually ſent before.

This

This was however none of the Duke's real design. He sent word to the conspirators of his being so pressed that he had no more pretexts for delay, and must either go to *Madrid*, or the enterprise be executed immediately. This, with an intercepted letter of *Olivarez* directing some gentlemen to be seized, produced a resolution of fixing the time for *Saturday* the first of *December*. *Pinto* had before engaged *Le Mos* and *Correa* two leading citizens, who had their agents in every ward or quarter of the city to incense the people in general against the *Spaniards*; alarming them with new imposts, and to engage particular confiding persons to be ready on occasion, whenever summoned: And it was found that they could depend on about 200 citizens whom for their credit the rest would follow, and 150 gentlemen with their servants, for the surprise of the palace. A general meeting of the heads was held, in greater numbers than ever before, on *Nov. 25*, when it was agreed to divide themselves into four parties, each assigned the province wherein they were to act, and the numbers and heads of each appointed. *M. Almeida* was to attack the *German* guard at the entrance of the palace: *Mello* the great huntsman, and
Stephen

Stephen d' Acunha were to fall ^{on} the *Spanish* company that mounted guard every day at the palace called the Fort: *Ant. Mendoza*, *Rodrigo Saa*, and *Dr. Pinto* were to force *Vasconcellos's* apartment: *Ant. Almada*, *Carlo Norogna*, and *Ant. Saldaigne*, were to seize the Vice-queen, the Marquess of *Puebla*, the Count of *Bainette* Master of the horse, and other *Spaniards* of her household: Some cavaliers and citizens were to disperse themselves in the streets, to proclaim *John IV.* to raise the people, and lead them to the side of the palace where they found resistance. They parted, with a resolution to meet on *Saturday* morning, some at *Almeida's*, others at *Almada's*, and *Mendoza's*, and the rest at the parade before the palace; and if in the mean time any of them were taken up, to rescue them, and declare immediately. Notice was given thereof to the Duke of *Braganza*, who undertook to make all the province of *Alentejo* declare at the same time, and put his own regiment on which he could entirely depend, into *Elvas*, the better not only to secure the place, but also to hinder any succours coming from *Spain*.

The affair was now so far communicated, and the particular time and measures

tures known to so many, that the least deferring might prove fatal, yet it had like to have happened. There was a forward and bold talker and railer against the *Spaniards*, whom *Ant. Almada* tried to engage, thinking the man to be confided in, and ready to act a part in the enterprise; but the greatness of it terrified him, he changed colour, his heart failed him, he made objections to the attempt and declined engaging. *Almada* in wrath drew, his sword and told him, his blood must expiate for the license of his tongue, which had tempted him to make a confidence which the other did not deserve. The man in a fright protested, he had only made objections and represented difficulties that they might be the better prepared against him, and for his part, he thought they might be removed in the particular manner he specified; swore to secrecy, and promised his assistance. *Almada* was pacified, yet still fearing the loquacity and levity of the man, thought it his duty to acquaint the rest with the matter. They were startled, and in their surprise resolved to put off the day, and send word to the Duke of *Braganza* to precipitate nothing till they gave him further advice. *Pinto* wrote accordingly, but as he thought it a reason

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for hastening rather than deferring the enterprise, and was persuaded that the rest would, in their cooler thoughts, be of the same opinion, he sent word at the same time, that this panick would pass away, and his master ought not to alter his measures, for he was satisfied the day would hold; and so it proved. They met again, and seeing no alarm taken, but every thing quiet, they easily resolved to keep the day; which was very convenient for the Duke, who had gone very far, had placed proper persons all over *Alentejo* to make it declare, had sent out servants armed and masked upon the roads to stop couriers, to seize all dispatches to court, to get intelligence, and give notice by signals and fires for every one to repair to his rendezvous, and act the part assigned him.

The chiefs met the evening before, when they were disconcerted by a new accident. *Vasconcellos* had crossed the *Tajo* to divert himself and sup with a friend; but as the reason of it was then unknown, they were all surprised and ready to imagine he had got some intimation of their design, and had crossed the river, either for his own safety, or to bring over some *Spanish* troops (that were quartered in the neighbouring villages) for the security

rity of the palace. Some lamented he should escape their hands: Others thought of saving themselves by flight: All were anxious and irresolute till midnight, when *Vasconcellos* returned, and nothing new appearing, they parted very late, having agreed to meet at eight in the morning upon the parade before the palace. All great affairs are ever subject to accidents till the moment of execution, and in that short interval of a few hours one happened, which was near ruining the whole affair. *George Mello* had been sent by the Duke of *Braganza* to assist in the conspiracy; he lodged at a friend's house in a suburb very remote from the court, and was struck with a kind of false shame at being engaged in such a design without having communicated it to his friend, who might well upbraid him for a breach of hospitality and want of confidence; and thinking there could be no danger when the execution was so near, told him of the design, and it was very late before they parted. *Mello* was no sooner retired to his room, but he repented of his needless confidence, and imagined grounds of suspicion in his friend's looks and discourse upon the subject; could not rest, hearkened and listened to every noise, heard voices and steps of servants, rose,

and by the light of a torch saw from his window an horse brought out ready saddled, and his friend putting on his coat ready to mount. He ran down sword in hand, asked him the meaning of that motion at so unreasonable an hour; to which the other in his surprise making but sorry excuses, he brought him back to his chamber, kept him to the hour of execution, and then carried him to assist in the enterprize.

The first of *December* at last came; and at break of day the conspirators took arms with an ardour that is almost incredible; even the ladies animating the men to rescue their country from a foreign slavery. *Philippa de Villena*, Countess of *Atougia* helped her two brave and lusty sons, Count *Hieronymo* and *Francisco Coutinbo*, with her own hands to put on their armour, and bid them go
 “ either to save their country, or dye
 “ gloriously in its ruin; whilst she in
 “ years, and unable to act any other part,
 “ prayed at home for their success, anxious till she knew the event, whether
 “ she was to enjoy a glorious liberty in
 “ common with them, or to accompany
 “ them in their fate: She trusted in Providence, that so generous an attempt
 “ would be blessed with success; but if it
 “ was otherwise, she was resolved not to
 “ survive

“survive the ruin of her country.” This zeal and spirit was common to her with many other ladies.

All the conspirators met at the places of rendezvous, and arrived before the palace punctually at the time appointed, having taken different routs, some on horseback, others on foot, but most of them in coaches and litters, to conceal their arms as well as numbers, waiting the signal. As soon as the palace clock struck eight, *Pinto* fired his pistol, and each party fell on. *Almeida* easily surprised the *German* guard, and secured it without any trouble. *Mello* the great huntsman and *Stephen d'Acunha* attacked the *Spanish*, which ran to their arms, but one of them being run through and dropping, the rest fled. *Pinto* mounted up the stairs of the palace towards *Vasconcellos's* apartment with so much contempt of danger, and so little concern, that a friend meeting him, and half frightened at the sight of such a number of armed men, asking him what was the matter, he replied with a smile, “nothing but to change Kings.” As they passed through a long gallery dark enough, as being lighted only on one side, and the other taken up with offices belonging to the Secretaryship, which

made the passage straight and obscure, *Correa* the Under-Secretary came out sword in hand, and insulting *Mendoza*, was run through the body, but recovered. A Captain of foot was at the same time talking with *Vasconcellos* in his bed-chamber; and hearing the noise, defended the door out of pure generosity, till being wounded in the hand and not able to hold his sword, he retired, and jumping out of the window saved his life. *Vasconcellos* had, by that defence, time to hide himself in a press of writings, but being incommoded there, and the papers making a noise by his stirring, he was discovered and killed by *Ant. Tellez de Silva*, who had often said either jocularly or seriously, that the tyrant was devoted to dye by his hand. The corpse was thrown out of the window with great shouts of, *the Tyrant's dead, Liberty, Liberty, Live John IV. King of Portugal*. The mob insulted over it, dragging it about the streets, and treating it with all manner of indignities, and were exceedingly animated with the sight, no longer doubting of their liberty, since the great instrument of tyranny was dead.

In the mean time, the other party assigned to secure the Vice-Queen, had seized

seized on *Puebla*, *Bainette*, *Diego de Cardenas*, and other *Spaniards*: And then advancing to her apartment, required the door to be opened or they would set it on fire. She rose, hearing the noise upon *Vasconcellos*'s death, and the door being opened, she gave good words to the conspirators, and promised them pardon of that murder and disturbance, if they proceeded no further. They told her in plain terms there was an end of the *Castilian* government, and they owned no King but *John IV.* and it behoved her to be quiet and silent for fear of incensing the people, from whose violence they could not save her if she gave any provocation. Finding herself a prisoner, she submitted, and retiring to her chapel, was kept under a guard, whilst all the city was in an uproar, seizing all the *Spaniards* and their favourers, who kept in their houses without daring to stir out, in terrible fear of their lives: But no mischief happened, and the city was secured without the death of any but *Vasconcellos* and two others. The citadel or castle of *St. George* built by the Duke of *Alva*, still remained in the hands of the *Spaniards*. The Vice-Queen had at first signed an order wrote in *Puebla*'s hand, requiring the Gover-

nor not to fire; and it was now demanded she should order him to surrender. This she refused, but *Almada* in a fury threatening to go and stab all the *Spaniards* that were in custody, that moment, she, to prevent the death of so many persons, signed it, not imagining the Governor would mind the order of a person in duress. *Luis de Campo* was the Governor, a man of little consideration or courage. As soon as he received the order, he surrendered the citadel, which was not so well provided as it might have been; all the old soldiers having been removed to *Catalonia*, *Thomas Mexia* an old experienced Commander called away to that service, and the new garrison of raw men being in a terrible fright and consternation at so sudden a revolution.

John IV. was proclaimed King with wonderful joy all over the city; and the Archbishop of *Lisbon*, assisted by *M. Almeida*, *A. Almada*, and *P. Mendoza*, took care of the government 'till his arrival. Their first act was the seizing of three *Spanish* galleons that lay in the port, which was easily effected, the masters being absent in the town, and the seamen deserting the vessels. Expresses were dispatched to all parts to give their friends

friends notice of the success, and orders sent to all magistrates to proclaim the King in their several districts. The Vice-Queen was ordered to quit the palace (and retiring first to the old royal house of *Xabragas* at the end of the town, was soon after sent to a convent out of it under a stricter guard) to make way for the new King, who setting out on *Dec. 3*, from his seat without guards, only in his ordinary hunting equipage, accompanied with his relations the Marquess of *Fereira*, and the Count of *Vimioso*, arrived on the sixth at *Lisbon*, where he was received with bonfires in every street, and thousands of acclamations. This gave a *Spaniard* occasion to say, that, "*John IV.* was very happy, "since his kingdom cost him no more "than a bonfire, and *Philip IV.* much "otherwise, who had been stripped of "so fair a crown only by acclamations "and illuminations."

Portalegre declared for the new King, before the news of the success arrived from *Lisbon*: *Biagio Suarez de Castelblanco* Governor of the town of *Elvas*, did so on *Dec. 2*; and the same day the Marquess of *Fereira*, *Rodrigo Mello*, and *Luis de Portugal* eldest son of the Count of *Vimioso*, proclaimed him at
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Evora. The same was done at *Coimbra*, *Santaren*, *Leiria* and *Porto*, upon the first account from *Lisbon*. *John Gomes de Silva* laid siege to *San Filippo* and *Outon*, the two fortresses of *Setubal*; the first was taken in eight days, and the other surrendered the day following. That of *Viana* called *S. Jacomo* made a somewhat longer resistance, the *Castellan* having had time to provide for his defence. Those of *Brage* marched to assist in the siege, but the *Vianese* refused their help, saying they were able to reduce it themselves, and having finished a platform and fort to prevent all succours by sea, the fort surrendered. *Henry Correa de Silva* Governor of the *Algarves*, having received a letter from *John IV.* at *Lagos*, possessed himself of the fortresses of *San Vincent* and *Sagres*, posted 2000 men at *Castro Marino* two leagues from *Ayamonte* to oppose any attempt or incursion from that place, and the adjoining frontiers of *Spain*, and easily made that whole kingdom declare, having prepared matters some time before by sending the *Castilian* soldiers by degrees back into their own country, and lodged all the arms in the great towns. Thus was all *Portugal*, containing six hundred towns and fifteen thousand villages

lages, besides thirteen fortresses possessed with *Castilian* garrisons, all reduced in little more than eight days time, except the castle of *S. Julian* or *S. Gian*, at the mouth of the harbour of *Lisbon*. This was well fortified and provided; but a battery being erected, and a sum of money, a pension, and a commandery of *Christ* being offered the Governor, it was surrendered, and 6000 arms found in it with a magazine of powder. On *Christmas* day three vessels appeared off the place, being sent from *Seville* for its relief, and not knowing of the surrender, one of them was decoyed and taken; the other two stood out to sea and escaped. *Mazagan* in *Barbary*, and all the places in *Brazil* and the *Indies* (where, had it not been for this revolution, *Goa* and *Cochin* were going to be betrayed by the Negroes to the *Dutch*) followed the example of *Portugal*; none holding out but the castle of *Tercera*, which was not surrendered till *May 6, 1642*, *Tanger*, which did not submit till 1643, and *Ceuta*, which declared for the *Spaniards* and has ever since continued in their hands.

All *Portugal* being thus reduced into the quiet obedience of *John IV.* he was crowned on *Dec. 15*, and the Cortes meeting

meeting on Jan. 21, 1641, he was there recognized for their lawful King, and soon after by most of the powers of *Europe*. This King found the realm in a very low condition, the treasury exhausted, the domaine and ancient royal revenue mortgaged or alienated by the *Spaniards* (who had really treated the kingdom as if they were conscious it was not their own) the marine in a miserable condition, the magazines without ammunition, the arsenal without artillery or naval stores, the fortifications of towns decayed or fallen to ruin. The new King's vigilance extended to every thing; but his first care was to put the frontier places in a posture of defence; his own patrimony furnishing him with means for the expence, and the zeal of his subjects supplying the other defects. To relieve his people and engage their affections, he took off all the new oppressive taxes imposed by the *Spanish* Ministers, melted down his own plate, of which his ancestors had amassed an infinite quantity, and coined it for the support of his household. The example took; men of all ranks parted with the instruments of luxury and marks of magnificence, which the *Portuguese* vanity makes dear to them; and the very ladies sacri-

sacrificed their ornaments, their rich attractives and aids of beauty, to the common exigence of the nation. The States offered him a free gift; the Clergy taxing themselves at 600000 crowns, the Nobility at 400000, and the third estate at a million: But the King was averse to any exaction or levy that looked like compulsion, chusing rather to trust to the benevolence of his people, and leave it to every body's good-will to advance what he thought fit for the publick service. By this method, instead of two that were offered, four millions were voluntarily brought into the Exchequer. A ship at the same time richly laden from the *Indies* put into the port of *Lisbon*, knowing nothing of the revolution that had happened, and being seized, there were found on board 500000 crowns in money, besides merchandise; and *Ant. Tellez de Meneses* came home soon after with the *Indian* fleet consisting of eight ships. Thus was the King enabled to secure all his frontiers, and draw a considerable army into the field, with which he made an invasion into *Castile*, since the *Spaniards* taken up with the reduction of *Catalonia*, and their wars with *France*, were not able for

for some years to make any irruption into *Portugal*.

Whilst the kingdom in general was rejoicing in the happiness they enjoyed under their new Prince, several of the Grandees were dissatisfied to see an equal raised to be their superior, and to gratify their private passions, forgot what they owed to their King and country. The principal of these were the Duke of *Aveiro*, the Marquess of *Villa-real*, and his son the Duke of *Camina* (whom *John IV.* had made a Councillor of State in the very first moment of his accession) all descended of the royal family, but by lines illegitimate. *Sebastian de Matos de Norogna* Primate of *Portugal*, Archbishop of *Braga*, the first see in dignity, though inferior in riches to that of *Lisbon*, (which caused a constant competition between the two prelates) repined much at the great credit which the late revolution had gained his rival the Archbishop of *Lisbon* whom he hated, as he did likewise the new King, and was zealously addicted to the *Spanish* interest. He was intrepid, resolute, crafty, intriguing and indefatigable; and thinking the Duke of *Aveiro* too young to be dealt with, tho' the most considerable, he applied himself to *Louis de Meneses* Marquis

quifs of *Villa-real*, a man of years and experience, rich and popular, but of vast ambition and an haughty spirit. By flattering this passion, by representing how much more becoming his greatness it was to be subject to so great a monarch as *Philip*, than to a Duke of *Braganza*, and by promising him the vice-royalty, he soon gained the Marquifs to enter into his measures for the *Spanish* service. *Michael de Meneses* Duke of *Camina*, a fiery rash young man, readily embarked in the same schemes with his father. *Francisco de Castro* Bishop of *Guardia* and Great Inquisitor of *Portugal* was a particular friend of *Braga's* who communicated to him his design, which the other approved so far as to conceal, but proceeded no further. There entered likewise into it *Augustin Manuel* a man of a vast mind, fit for action, and enterprizing great things, of a narrow fortune but illustrious blood, and not enough considered by the present government; the Count of *Armamar*, the President of the *Cruciata*, and some few of the Noblesse who had not been concerned in promoting the late revolution.

It was a dangerous thing to undertake to overthrow a government founded in the hearts of the people, who had every
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where shewn almost unanimously such lively and extraordinary marks of their zeal and affection. It seemed impossible to find in all the realm a body of men capable of joining in such an enterprise, as was necessary to bring about a new revolution; yet the industry of the Archbishop of *Braga* got in some measure over this difficulty. There had been a vast number of *Jews* for several ages past dispersed in all the trading towns of *Portugal*, particularly in *Lisbon*, scraping together vast wealth by usury, merchandise, and other means. These by *Philip III.* of *Spain's* banishing them out of all his dominions, and by the severities of the Inquisition, had been forced to make an outward profession of Christianity, but inwardly retained their old principles and belief. They observing the necessities of the State, and the want of money upon the accession of the new King to the throne, thought it a fit time to get a toleration, and offered him a vast sum of money to exempt them from the terrors of the Inquisition, and to be allowed the open profession of their own religion. The King knowing how odious this would be to the ecclesiastical estate, and indeed to all orders of his subjects, rejected their offer. This fired
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their resentment, and raised their fears to a great height; having thus unseasonably and rashly discovered their sentiments and exposed themselves to all the cruelties of that terrible tribunal. In this situation, as they knew one another well, and were linked together by continual alliances between one another, by their common interests as well as agreement in religion, and were a considerable party on account of their vast wealth, and the numbers of persons that depended on them for their employment and livelihood, the Primate of *Braga* thought them a fit set of men for his purpose. The chief of these was *Peter Baeza*, styled a new Christian, because of *Jewish* race, though his ancestors for several generations had professed Christianity. He was the richest merchant in *Portugal*, and well known also in *Castile*, intimate with *Olivarez*, who had got him made a Knight of *Christ*, to the great discontent of the *Portuguese*; who thought an order so highly esteemed by their Kings, to be scandalously debased by his wearing the habit, and yet this did not free him from the suspicion of *Judaism*. This man was first sounded by *Manuel*, and afterwards the Archbishop himself waving all scruples of treating with the

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enemies of *Christ*, talked with him on the affair, into which *Baeza* readily entered, offering 100000 crowns for carrying it on. Others of the same set embarked also in it, upon the representation of their unhappy condition, and the danger they were all in of ruin, torments, and death itself from the Inquisition; which *Braga* undertook to secure them from by means of the Great Inquisitor, whom they knew to be his intimate friend; and added also assurances in the name of the King of *Spain* (at whose court they were sensible he should have entire credit) that they should have a toleration and be allowed a synagogue.

Hands being found to act in the affair, the plan of the enterprise was thus laid: The *Jews* were on *Aug. 5*, at eleven a clock at night to set fire to the city in several places, and to the royal palace at the four corners; and whilst the people were taken up in quenching the fire in their houses, and the court in great confusion on account of that in the palace, the conspirators were, under pretence of assisting to stop its force, to enter the palace, and in the hurry and tumult to kill the King; and the Duke of *Camina* was to seize the Queen and her children, and to keep them as hostages till

till the citadel was surrendered. The Surintendant of the King's buildings was to supply them with a key, that they might be sure of getting into the palace. There was also in the naval armament at *Betlem*, a man of command in each ship ready to set fire to the fleet on a signal given. The Primate was to go out at the same time, with the President of the *Cruciata* and other Ecclesiasticks attached to him, in a solemn procession, to keep the people quiet by the awe of that parade of religion; and the Marquis of *Villa-real* was to take the government upon him till orders should be sent from *Madrid*. It was likewise proposed, that a strong body of *Spanish* forces should be ready at the same time to enter *Alentejo* by land; and a fleet sent with other forces to lye off the coast of *Portugal*, and be ready to assist the conspirators.

In order to this last part of the scheme, it was necessary to acquaint *Olivarez* with the whole plan; which was accordingly drawn up, with a particular account of the part that each man was to act, and sent by letters which were committed to the care of *Baeza*, who on account of his extensive commerce, which the publick good made it proper

to encourage, had liberty of corresponding with *Spain* on mercantile affairs. *Baeza's* courier went ordinarily without suspicion through *Portugal*, and delivered his letters to the Marquis of *Ayamonte* Governor of that town, the first in *Spain* beyond the *Guadiana* in the road from *Lisbon* to *Seville*, with which place *Baeza's* correspondence lay. The conspirators thought their letters safe when delivered into *Spanish* hands, and expected soon their instructions from *Olivarez*; but found themselves fatally disappointed.

It was given out at that time, that a spy of *John IV's* confidence, and often employed by him into *Spain*, met a *Bohemian* spy carrying the conspirators letters on the road, and joined him, without suspecting any thing: But by discourse in their travelling together, finding he was trusted with some secret and important affair, got him into an house of entertainment, and having made him drunk, fished out the secret of his errand; and persuading him in that condition to mount on horseback and proceed on their journey, stabbed him half an hour after in the field, and having rifled his pockets, returned to the King with the letters he had found, which contained a particular

lar detail of the conspiracy, and shewed that many other letters had passed in the same manner to and from *Castile*. This was at first given out to be the means of the discovery; but it afterwards appeared to have been made in the following manner.

The Marquis of *Ayamonte* was a near relation and intimate friend to the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and was embarked in the design of setting him up for King of *Andalusia*. The Duke was already Governor thereof, Lord of a great part of the country, and owner of a prodigious estate therein; his ancestors having been the main instruments of reducing the kingdom of *Granada*. He was vain and ambitious, chief of the great family of the *Gusmans*, and hated *Olivarez*; as did indeed all the *Grandeess*, imagining it was that Minister's design to crush them all, and ruin their families. The province was harrassed with sixty three new taxes and imposts of different kinds, which were so oppressive to the people, and caused such a general discontent in their minds, that they seemed disposed to follow the examples of *Catalonia* and *Portugal*. The Duke encouraged by the success of those insurrections, considering how much his

Catholick Majesty was weakened by the defection of those two provinces, and distressed by his foreign wars and other difficulties, and likewise seeing *Andalusia* in such an uneasy situation, thought he had a fair opportunity of dismembering it from the *Spanish* monarchy. With this view, his sister *Louisa de Gusman* being wife to *John IV.* King of *Portugal*, he set on foot a correspondence with that Prince, who readily promised all the assistance in his power. A *French* fleet was to come on the coast, and by the Duke's help to seize the *Spanish* galleons: But when the fleet appeared, his heart failed him and he did nothing, through want, either of power to execute what he proposed, not being popular enough, or of steadiness and resolution to go on with the enterprise. This matter was however in negotiation, when the conspirators letters were delivered to the Marquis of *Ayamonte*; who, surprised to see the seal of the Inquisition put upon the packet, imagined there must be some very important matter concealed under that seal of secrecy. He immediately sent the letters to the King of *Portugal*, who, surprised at the danger he was in, and the horribleness of the design, lost no time in taking measures to

to prevent it with all proper secrecy, for fear the conspirators should have found other means of acquainting *Olivarez* with their design, and continue in the mind of executing it at the time appointed.

In the morning of *Aug. 5*, he sent for the regiments quartered about *Lisbon* to enter the city, and draw up before the palace, as in order to a review, and to receive their pay. He then called a council, at which the Archbishop of *Braga*, and the Marquis of *Villa-real* being members, attended; and being taken by him into his cabinet were arrested: The Duke of *Camina* was seized upon the parade. The King had given with his own hand, orders for seizing the different conspirators to several persons in whom he entirely confided, sealed up, with directions to open them at an hour appointed, and to execute them immediately. They were punctually obeyed, and in less than an hour's time forty seven persons were arrested. The noise of the conspiracy being spread over the city, the people ran in crowds to the palace, calling out for revenge and justice on the guilty: And the magistracy deputed some of their body to beseech his

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Majesty to provide for the security of his throne by their exemplary punishment. The office of the Inquisition being searched was found full of arms; and every thing so well prepared that nothing was wanted but the answer of *Olivarez*. Most of the persons taken up were afterwards released upon being found innocent; but it was thought proper to use severity towards the criminals to deter others from the like practices. The King not caring to make use of the intercepted letters to prove their guilt, for fear it should make known the means of discovery, *Baeza* was put to the question, and had scarce suffered any torment before he confessed the whole affair. Others did the same before they were so much as put to the torture. The Marquis of *Villa-real* and other Gentlemen readily confessed their crime; as did the Archbishop of *Braga*, and the Grand Inquisitor. These being Ecclesiasticks and by the privileges of their order exempted from the cognizance of the secular power, were only put in prison, where the Primate having languished about two years died: And the other not having engaged so far as the rest was in a little time set at liberty. *Villa-real* and *Camina*, *Ruy de Matos* the Primate's nephew,

nephew, the Count of *Armamar*, and *Aug. Manuel* were on *Aug. 29*, beheaded in the *Portuguese* fashion, sitting in a chair and having their throats cut. *Braga's* Secretary, and *Ant. Correa de Silva* who had been chief Clerk to *Vasconcellos*, with four others were hanged. Their estates and effects being confiscated, helped to defray the charges of the war.

The King soon after, either out of a sentiment of generosity, or out of policy, as thinking her residence in the kingdom, and the facility of discoursing with her, had given encouragement to the plot, set the Vice-Queen at liberty, who returned into *Spain* ten months after the revolution of *Portugal*. She was not at first suffered to see the King, or appear at court, but by *Olivarez's* management was ordered to stay at *Ocana*. There she continued till *Elizabeth de Bourbon* Queen of *Spain*, and the Marquis of *Grana* the Imperial Embassador made their attack upon that Minister; and then quitting secretly the place of her exile, she came to court, and by a conference with *Philip IV.* gave the finishing stroke to the disgrace of *Olivarez*, who, after drawing two hundred and sixteen millions of gold by heavy gabels and excises,
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from the people, after having lost some of the finest provinces of the King of *Spain's* dominions, and a series of disaster's during the course of an arbitrary ministry of twenty-two years, was dismissed from his master's service in *January* 1643. However before his exile he found means by an artifice, which however politicks may authorise, morality will never excuse, to deprive the King of *Portugal* of a very faithful and useful Minister.

Francisco Lucena a man of excellent parts, great penetration and sound judgment, was on the accession of *John IV.* made Secretary of State; a charge which he executed with wonderful activity, zeal, and affection to his Prince, with the greatest sufficiency and capacity, with an incomparable diligence and dispatch, and with a clearness, integrity, and fidelity, that gave satisfaction to all the world. When the revolt of *Portugal* happened, he had a son at *Madrid*, and had intrusted him with some blank papers, to which he had only signed his name, leaving his son to fill them up with letters of credit or recommendation, as he should see occasion. Upon advice of the revolution, *Olivarez* caused the son to be arrested, and his papers to be examined

examined, to see if he had been acquainted with the conspiracy. Nothing of that kind was discovered; only these blank papers were found. *Olivarez* kept them in his hands 'till finding the mischief *Lucena* did to the *Spanish* affairs, he consulted the Marquis of *Montalvan* and his brother *Fr. Jeronymo Mascaregna*, both *Portuguese*, whether he should endeavour to make *Lucena* a friend, by an act of generosity, or destroy him as an irreconcilable and dangerous enemy. *Jerome* who was a Religious, recommended the former, the Marquis a Soldier, advised the latter method; which being most agreeable to *Olivarez's* nature, he approved; and affected his design in this manner: He had a *Portuguese* Gentleman in his pay at *Lisbon*, who served him for a spy, and gave him good intelligence of the measures and resolutions of the King's council, which he discovered either by his money or sagacity. This man was suspected by *Lucena*, and from the Secretary's looks, and some marks of his displeasure, began to dread the worst and to think of flying into *Spain* for refuge. *Olivarez* to provide for his friend's safety, and effect his enemy's ruin, sent him the blank papers signed by *Lucena*, ordering him, when-

whenever he sent his advices to him in the usual private method, to send also at the same time, in a more publick and dangerous way, those very advices in the blanks with *Lucena's* name. These last were intercepted; and the King strangely surpris'd and moved thereat, observed carefully the air, manner, and conduct of *Lucena*; but found no grounds for suspicion. Not knowing of himself what to think, he consulted some about him on the subject, who envious of *Lucena's* credit and power, advised his arrest and punishment. As soon as *Lucena* was seized, *Olivarez's* spy sent others of the blanks with further secret advices (being chiefly copies of letters and instructions to Embassadors abroad, which he had got from the clerks that copied them) and took care at the same time to have feigned letters in *Olivarez's* name, wrote as it were in answer to former advices, and relating to secrets formerly discovered, to be sent from *Castile*, and likewise intercepted. *Lucena* was surpris'd at the charge, and at seeing his name put to letters he had never wrote or dictated. The thing admitted of no defence, but a denial of the fact; which he did with great indignation, and without any sign of fear.

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He owned it was like his hand, but he was sure he had never wrote or given orders for any such letters, or had ever held any correspondence with *Olivarez*; and insisted that there was a fraud in the matter which it behoved the Judges to examine and discover. His hurry of business had made him forget the blanks he had given his son; and he really thought his name counterfeited. Judges, though otherwise regular and just in their proceedings, seldom mind what criminals alledge for themselves; the answer seemed frivolous; he was upon that uncertain kind of proof by letters (which exposes every man's life to the malice or corruption of a counterfeiter of hands) condemned, and presently after too hastily executed; Princes seldom taking the time that Providence does in punishing, and *Lucena* protesting his innocence to the very moment of his execution; which happened a fortnight or three weeks before *Olivarez*'s disgrace. The truth was soon known by that Minister's triumph on the occasion, and by the declaration of the Marquis of *Montalvan*'s sons; but there was no recalling *Lucena* to life. Thus the King of *Portugal* lost the service of the most capable, industrious,

strious, and affectionate Minister he had in his kingdom.

The *Spaniards* taken up with expensive wars in other parts, neither made nor were capable of making any great efforts against *Portugal* all the reign of A. D. 1656. *John* IV. who dying Nov. 6, 1656, left the regency to his Queen *Louisa*, and his crown to his eldest son *Alfonso*, born 21 June 1643. The Regent governed with great prudence and abilities during the minority of her son. In 1657, *Louis de Haro* besieging *Elvas*, was routed, and forced to raise the siege; and though after the King of *Spain* had made peace with all his other enemies by the treaty of the *Pyrenees*, his forces gained some advantages, and took several places in *Portugal*; yet in 1663, they were all recovered upon the great victory obtained over Don *John* of *Austria*, at *Canale*. Two other compleat victories of the *Portuguese*, obtained, the one under the Count of *Cantagneda* at *Villa Viciosa* in 1665, the other at *Montes Claros* on June 17, 1666, over the *Spanish* forces, established the affairs of *Portugal*. The death of *Philip* IV. following soon after, the Queen Regent of *Spain* grew weary of the war, and peace was made in 1668.

Alfonso

Alfonso Henry VI. of the name, was, when three years old, struck with a palsy on his right side; and part of his body withered. As he grew up, baths, and remedies fetched from the *Indies*, removed the deadness in a great degree; but he was still awkward in the use of his right hand, and sluggish enough in the parts that had been affected; his brain also was much weakened, and he was troubled with fits of madness. *Francisco de Faro* Count of *Odemira*, the most accomplished Nobleman in the kingdom, was his Governor; but could not with any care succeed in forming his mind, or in the instructing him with knowledge: He minded nothing but vile and mean things, would run races with common boys, and delighted in all base exercises, very shocking to the gravity of the *Portuguese*. *Antonio Conti* a *Genoese*, kept a toyshop in the galleries about the chapel court where the King used to spend his hours of Siesta; and by presenting his Majesty with silk strings, little gilt knives, and the like baubles, got exceedingly into his good graces. In vain did the Regent and the Count of *Odemira* remonstrate against his debasing himself by such a fellow's company: He grew fonder of him, and they were obliged to discharge the King from seeing

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ing him, and *Conti* from entering the palace. Notwithstanding this prohibition, the King saw him, at first by stealth, and soon after more openly; and created him a Knight of *Christ*, with a good commandery, and made him Gentleman of his bed-chamber. Bear and Bull-baiting were introduced into the palace, fencing, flinging, and other mobbish diversions. The Count of *Odemira* being dead, *Alfonso* was no longer under any restraint; all sorts of rascally young fellows came about him, and as *Conti* was lascivious, loose women were sought out in the stews, and brought in crowds to the palace. These put him upon all kinds of debauchery and cruelty: Rapes and murders were continually committed by his followers: He took a pleasure in seeing poniards darted at people in the streets, laughing at those that were wounded; would attack bulls upon the road, and assault people on the road, who sometimes not knowing him, stood upon their guard, wounded and put him in danger of his life. In most of his conduct he acted the mad-man; and the Regent seeing no hopes of reclaiming her son whilst *Conti* had such an ascendant over him, the *Genoese* was seized by the Duke of *Cadaval*, and shipped away for *Brazil*.

Louis

Louis de Vasconcellos de Sousa Count of *Castelmelhor* was at that time Captain of the guard, when doors were broke open in the palace in order to seize *Conti*, who had locked himself up in his apartment; and opposed that violence as an high affront to the King. He did not fail to represent it as such to his Majesty, and exasperating him against the authors of that attempt, got into his favour. The Queen Regent soon perceived it, and took occasion to tell the Count, that he should answer with his head for all the King's counsels and measures. He was of an ancient family, a man of very good parts, prudence, and experience; but vastly ambitious, and did not care to lose the credit he had with his master, and the power which that credit gave him in the kingdom. Alarmed with the Queen's menace, he resolved to put an end to her power of Regent, in order to his own security; and took care on this new occasion to incense the King against her; to which he was before sufficiently disposed. The Queen had been always fond of her younger son *Don Pedro*, and upon her husband's death was for putting him on the throne, under pretence, that *Alfonso* would never be capable of the government: But the States being firm in opposing such a

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breach in the order of the succession, her design at that time was prevented. She did not however lay it aside entirely, but to carry it on by degrees, endeavoured to get him declared Prince of *Portugal*, i.e. presumptive heir of the crown; but the King was obstinate in refusing his consent, imagining it a step intended for his own removal. She formed however an household for the Infant, worthy of his rank and hopes; and filled it with persons of great distinction. The Infant supported by the Queen's favour had great levees; till the King expressing his jealousy thereof, it became a desert, to Don *Pedro's* mortification and resentment. The King considering the Queen as the first cause of all that displeased, was easily persuaded by *Castelmelhor's* advice, to retire to *Alcantara*. From thence he sent to the Queen to resign the regency, declaring he would govern himself. She accordingly resigned it on *Saturday 23 June 1662*, and on *May 17* following, retired into the monastery of *Xabregas* (which she had founded near *Lisbon*) where she died on *Feb. 28, 1666*.

Castelmelhor, upon the Regent's resignation, was made Secretary of the *Puritad*; and had the management or direction of all affairs. His first step was to
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engage the King to banish the Duke of *Cadaval*, *Garcia*, and *Manuel Mello*, the Counts of *Souvre* and *Pombieres*, and other great men from court. By degrees also he removed the Count of *Atougia*, and *Cesar de Meneses* his rivals in the King's favour: And upon *Conti's* returning from *Basil*, prevailed with his Majesty to send orders he should not land at *Lisbon*, but retire to a remote part of the kingdom, and not stir out of the limits assigned him. *Castelmelhor* to draw the King off from his debauches and extravagances, and to supply the crown with heirs, was for marrying both him and the Infant. *Alfonso* on June 5, 1666, espoused *Mary Frances Elizabeth* of *Savoy* younger daughter of *Amé* of *Savoy* Duke of *Nemours* and *Aumale*. The Marquis of *Sandé* who treated it, had settled at the same time the Infant's marriage with a daughter of the Duke of *Bouillon*; but *Pedro* refused to ratify the treaty. He had other designs in his head, and was intent upon dethroning his bother; who was forced to resign the government on Nov. 23, 1667, and had his marriage vacated by a sentence of the chapter of *Lisbon*, pronounced on March 24, 1668, and approved by *Alfonso*, who was in the year following transported to the isle of

Tercera, and brought thence, upon the complaints of the *Portuguese* about his treatment, some years after to the Castle of *Cintra*, seven leagues from *Lisbon*; in which confinement he died of an apoplexy, on *Sept. 12, 1683*. Don *Pedro*, on his brother's resignation, took upon him the government, and when the States met in *Jan. 1669*, he laboured hard to get it confirmed to him with the title of King: But the States would only allow him the style of Regent till *Alfonso's* decease. Not satisfied with that part of his elder brother's spoils, he resolved to enjoy also his wife: And eight days before her marriage with *Alfonso* was judicially vacated, he obtained a dispensation to marry her from the Cardinal *de Vendosme*, Legate *a latere* in *France*, dated *March 16, 1668*. The marriage was accordingly celebrated on the second of *April* following, in the chapel of the castle of *Lisbon*; and was validated by a bull of Pope *Clement IX.* dated *Sept. 10* in the same year. The particular measures taken for the deposing of *Alfonso* and putting of *Pedro* upon the throne are the subject of the following letters of Sir *Robert Southwell*; an impartial eye-witness of all that passed in the course of effecting that extraordinary revolution.

LETTERS

L E T T E R S

O F

Sir Robert Southwell,

During his EMBASSY in *PORTUGAL*,

T O T H E

DUKE of *ORMOND*.

Giving an Account of the REVOLUTION
which happened in that kingdom
in 1667.

J. E. T. L. R. S.

OF

Sir Robert Bunsen

English Embassy in Berlin

Duke of ORMOND

Giving an Account of the Expedition
which happened in that Kingdom
in 1697.

L E T T E R S
O F

Sir Robert Southwell,
During his Embassy in *Portugal.*

*Sir Robert Southwell to the Duke
of Ormond.*

Lisbon, June 12^o 1667.

May it please your Grace,

ALthough I have made some progress in a long narrative of the unsuccessful negotiation I came hither about, (as holding myself accountable to your Grace for my time and actions in his Majesty's service) yet because no apology can serve for a thing that comes out of season, and it may long be before I compass leisure enough to finish those papers, I therefore presume to send beforehand something like a model, which usually shews the proportions, the figure, and

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varieties,

varieties, though not the extent of a work.

His Majesty having engaged by his articles of marriage to mediate the agreement of these two crowns, and Sir *Richard Fanshawe* by the good opinion he acquired in this place, being from hence recommended to his Majesty as an instrument very equal (if sent Ambassador into *Spain*) to compass so great a work, he was accordingly chosen, and dispatched away in the year 166 $\frac{3}{4}$. But the better to explain how his Excellency fared in this undertaking, it will be necessary, first to set down the circumstantial difficulties attending this affair, (whereof many preceded, and others rose up by a treaty which he made) and next, the essential points contended for on either side, which could not possibly be overcome, while both the parties remained stiff and inexorable.

On the side of *Spain*, almost two years sollicitation by Sir *Richard Fanshawe* had availed very little to incline them to any terms whatever of accommodation with *Portugal*; either because the insuccess of the war did more exasperate and engage them in honour to prosecute it, or that they feared by offers of agreement, to betray a jealousy of their
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peace with *France*, and thereby provoke more early, that angry Lion, who was able in the unhappy disposition of their affairs, more than any other evil, to perplex them. However, observing that *France* made great preparations for war in the year 1665, and that they could not so reasonably fall any where as upon themselves, they on a sudden began to treat with his Excellency, designing thereby to shut up this fatal door that gave admission into their bowels. And yet being in all things willing to labour the advantage of a bargain, they imagined to content *Portugal* with terms, which might perhaps have gone far in it, before the intervention of so many victories: And hoping to promote their wishes by imposing on Sir *Richard Fanshawe*, they fairly intercepted from him those lights and informations sent from home, which would undoubtedly have made him peremptory in the necessary point of the title. And though he proceeded in another form to the signing of a treaty; yet his intention was to make it rather as an essay, only to take place, in case it should please the parties it concerned. But when once that it was done, the *Spaniards* heaped on it all the validity and credit, which ought to belong

belong to any absolute treaty of an Ambassador, and consequently urged the Prince's obligations to make it good.

On the side of *Portugal*, they were not only at this time so elated with their victories, as to think every thing they demanded, due unto them; but took in, as a great argument in their favour, the just fears and apprehensions of *Spain* at the preparations of *France*. And there was also another unlucky motive which raised their confidence of getting all they could desire; for by occasion of a private intercourse of letters about that time, between the Confessor of the Marquess *de Caracena* (a Jesuit in *Badajox*) and another of the same order, who was Rector in *Elvas* on the side of *Portugal*, (both the said places facing each other on the Frontiers) it is said that the first motion began from *Spain*, and was countenanced by the Marquess *de Caracena* himself, and that he also actuated by the Count *de Pegnaranda*, who had privately gotten an order from the King before his death, to try his wits in that affair, hoping thereby to draw to himself the honour of this composition, which otherwise he feared the Duke of *Medina de las Torres* would carry away. It seems, in

in the exchange of the said letters, some great assurance was taken on the side of *Portugal*, that the title was in a manner offered unto them. But understanding at that very season, from Sir *Richard Fanshaw*, that he was coming down with advantageous proposals unto them, they presently quashed this private intercourse in expectation and confidence that what he was bringing was on the same foot, and altogether as much advanced towards their hearts content; only they respected it much more for the authority thereof, and for that which was considerable to them therein, namely the King of *England's* guaranty.

In this very conjuncture I arrived at *Lisbon* on the $\frac{1}{2}$ ^{6th} of *January* 166 $\frac{1}{2}$, where the Secretary of State, first acquainted me with Sir *Richard Fanshaw's* being then on his journey for *Portugal*; and by repeating to me the correspondence of the two Jesuits, in the best construction to *Portugal*, he made no dispute at all, but that the affair was just matured, and brought to the happy conclusion they desired. Infomuch that I began to entertain, to my great satisfaction, present thoughts of returning home. However, I thought fit to hasten
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to the court, then distant twelve leagues off, at *Salva Terra*; where I presently fell to treat with the *Conde de Castelmelbor* Minister of State, and to persuade him, according to my instructions, to a moderation of his demands from *Spain* in the point of title. But your Grace will easily judge how harsh, and out of time, this discourse sounded in his ears, and how easily I was put to a stand, when the Conde told me, that Sir *Richard Fanshawe* was bringing to them the very thing I persuaded them from. In few days after, his Excellency Sir *Richard Fanshawe* arrived, and exposing to them his labours at *Madrid*, in a treaty made for a truce of thirty years; but with the style of *The present Government of Portugal*, instead of that of *King*, (alleging that he could bring the *Spaniards* unto no more) they appeared not only to be surprised, but strangely exasperated thereat, and after many evidences of their indignation, they positively declared that less than the title of *King*, and a peace, together with some other demands in the material part of the treaty, would not content them. Whereupon Sir *Richard Fanshawe* framed their demands into a project, which he and I jointly

jointly signed, to induce them also to do the like in a counterpart, whereby the matter proposed might be fixed, and they obliged to stand thereunto, if in case *Spain* should think fit to assent. And this method we hold the more necessary, inasmuch as just then were arrived two agents from *France*, whose design we knew would be to debauch and turn this court from any sort of agreement at all. And the truth is, they came in an unlucky hour, having already begun to inflame the *Portuguese* temper into high demands, by their offering all manner of assistance and supplies of war; for they feared, that when these Gentlemen should observe, that the arms of *France* fell not on their Enemies the *Spaniards*, but on their friends the *English*, as it presently succeeded; they should abate and temper their desires; and so our negotiation become effectual.

With this project mutually signed unto, Sir *Richard Fanshaw* and myself, hastened to *Madrid* to offer and enforce it there. But before our arrival, news was spread of the war declared against *England* by *France*; news which bred in that place so entire a joy, by excusing and absolving them from all their former fears

fears, that they instantly despised not only what we brought from *Portugal*, but (as at the first) even all inclinations of treating with them. So that from that day forward on the one side of *Spain*, they entertained all his Majesty's Ministers who treated in that place, sometimes with one, and sometimes with another of these following cavillations, according as they were pressed.

First they have urged with great violence, the obligation which lay upon his Majesty's justice and honour to ratify the treaty of Sir Richard *Fanshaw*, declaring that they would not speak in any business untill his Majesty should upon that case declare his judgment which they expected intirely in their favour, and to the condemnation of *Portugal*. And though they were answered by Sir Richard *Fanshaw*, and others, that his Majesty was no arbitrator of this difference, and therefore could not bind; but a mediator only, and so could but ratify what each party concerned did consent unto: Yet so far they insisted on some latitude in the words of the said treaty, and so much on some promises of his Majesty made them in an answer to one of the Conde de *Molina*'s memorials in *England*, that they affirmed

firmed his Majesty was thereby obliged to abandon *Portugal*. It is true his Majesty did promise to cast these off when they should be exorbitant; but still he reserved to himself to judge, what should be that exorbitancy. However they took upon them to determine that the case was then arrived by the *Portuguezes* refusing to accept of what his Majesty's Ambassadors had offered and thought reasonable for them to receive; whereby all demands exceeding the same were to be reputed exorbitancies. And during these traverses, and disputes, *France* was so active to foment the contention, and to persuade them they were highly injured, that *Spain* flew to that pitch as to menace a league with the *French*, if his Majesty should offer to refuse the said ratification. In the second place, when they have been ever brought, (as nothing but affronts from the *French* could do it) to lay aside these preambles, and come to the real particulars in difference, namely, about the title of King and a Peace, they have declared, that in point of honour they would not yield to the one, nor in point of interest could they to the other: That their pretension to *Portugal* was a right

right vested by succession in a minor King, which they, as his guardians, could not despoil him of; seeing the granting of a peace amounted to no less than a total renunciation of all pretence to that kingdom. And as the allowing of a peace, together with the name of King, was a point by the vote of all councils and orders of men amongst them, declared insuperable, and that even to yield the title but with a truce was never to be excused but by some fatal and indispensable necessities upon them; they who were judges of their own condition, neither felt nor foresaw any dangers of such a quality nigh them, but so far unto the contrary, as to be able both to pity and despise their enemies. And therefore if *Portugal* would not embrace what *England* had procured for them, they were hereafter only to think of war, and the sharpest consequences of it. So because they would not threaten for nothing, the preparations of war were on that side immediately doubled, and all the approaches unto any farther agreement have been disappointed even to this day. My Lord *Sandwich* exercised all his power and endeavours to preserve this temper in them: But the arguments of a friend could

could take little place, where even the preparations of an enemy could not prevail. The maxims by which they steered, (seeing they could not get peace at their own rate) was to seem fond of this little war, that so they might not by any suspicion of defence, provoke or hasten the more dreadful one of *France* against them. Now as to the part of *Portugal*, although the chief ministers still insisted upon, and would not own the accepting of less than the title and a peace, for fear the title, and a truce, should be refused them; yet it is undoubtedly true, that a treaty coming in this latter form, would have been most welcome to them. But they shaped their demands according to what might at once compleat their happiness both as to honor and security. And to justify this sovereignty in themselves, they would urge and dilate upon the prosperity of their arms for these six and twenty years past; the many victories they have gained even while *Spain* had no other enemy to mind but *Portugal*; the friendship of *England*, unto them, and the importunate offers from *France* coveting to supply them with mines and legions, if they will but pursue the war. To this

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they add, that since the title and a peace is what is necessary for them one time or other, that never any conjuncture was so favourable to insist thereon, as now in the minority of the King of *Castile*, when a woman governs who is a stranger; while the ministers are divided, the government ill administered, and the Emperor but a weak and unactive Prince. And therefore if *Spain* were not yet humbled enough to come to their present Terms, that they would, by their own and the *French* thunderbolts, soon frighten them into a condition of granting more than all. By these swelling waves, and between such rocks was the negotiation for a long time tossed. Both sides were intent upon victory, but the main of the business consisting in a point, (whether King or no King,) that which could not admit either of temperament, or division, became consequently impossible to overcome. During this suspense and incompatibility, the *French* on this side urged hard for a final resolution to the specious overtures they had made; and because it was necessary to begin early for the preparations of an ensuing campaign, I found the court also beginning to warpe, and to give some jealous attention

tention to those charms. Whereupon I bent all my endeavours to oblige them here to desist from any engagement, till they represented unto *England* as well the state of the negotiation, as the necessities they laboured under; which, as they alledged, persuaded them to their intended league; and accordingly I obtained the same. So that in *November* last a messenger was sent over, who in two months after returned with his Majesty's answer to this effect: That if they should resolve to put themselves into so hazardous an estate as that of the *French* alliance, and reject the conditions offered, which appeared much fuller of safety for them; yet his Majesty does desire, and even conjure them to keep open a door for receiving from *Spain* those other terms insisted on; which he will still continue, by his intercessions with that crown, to obtain and purchase for them.

This answer looked very mild and complying; only in the point they were conjured unto, of keeping themselves in a condition to admit the agreement from *Spain* when his Majesty could succeed therein, they thought it very impracticable in the treaty of a league, where the

French, who were to give money, would never part with it, but upon certainties, and as close conditions as words could bind them to; and the prevailing ministers being of the *French* bent, a better return could not be expected from them. Yet for about two months longer they still hovered off, and kept the *French* in a very painfull suspense; when, on a sudden, the chief minister here took a resolution, (hasty and suitable to his years,) and in four days put a conclusion to the work. So that on *March* the 30th they signed the league, offensive and defensive, during the space of ten years; *France* engaging besides the maintainance of four *French* regiments in this country, to pay in money to them, the value of an hundred thousand pounds sterling, *per annum*, while *Portugal* should support the war alone; but after that *France* came to break with *Spain*, that then this sum should be reduced to about thirty four thousand pounds a year, besides the charge of the said regiments on the *French* account, computed at fifty thousand pounds more. *France* is also engaged, that, if it put an end to the war (intended) with *Spain* before the expiration of this league, it will oblige
Spain

Spain to give the title of King unto *Portugal*; and garrant the agreement which shall be made between them. *Portugal* is obliged unto two campagnias yearly of 17000 men in each, and in case that one fails, then in lieu thereof to make four incurfions with 4000 men in each. Besides it engageth that, during the years of the league, it will not hearken unto any sort of condition from *Spain*, either directly or by any other hand; and with some large concessions to the *French* in point of commerce: This is the whole substance of their league. But it is to be observed, that the *French* deluded the *Portuguese* notoriously in the first point; for these having an army already formed, and long subsisting, desired nothing but money to pay and keep them on work. But the *French* feigning not to know how much these rather desired an hundred thousand pounds *per annum* and to fight alone, than thirty four thousand pounds and the association of *France*, used great prayers and intreaties to be excused for some years from the war. And by this artifice made the *Portuguese* believe they should long enjoy the larger sum, and so exceedingly whetted their appetite unto this league.

But as soon as it was signed, by a secret messenger from hence through *Spain*, *France* having notice thereof, they presently declared their war against the *Spaniards*.

But the misfortunes of understanding are commonly past remedy, and in such a case, silence is much more proper than complaint. These gentlemen being therefore engaged, are for better or for worse resolved to run their career with *France*. So that I having no longer argument to detain me in this kingdom, am thinking of a speedy return; and do with greater impatience attend my revocation, that I may not only affect, but be in a place where to execute your Grace's commands; for I truly am, with the strongest inclinations of duty and observance,

My Lord,

Your Grace's, &c.

ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

Sir

Sir Robert Southwell to Lord
Arlington.

My Lord,

I Herewith send your Lordship a full narrative of what hath been transacted in this court for these three months past: And how little soever it may deserve your Lordship's reading, because of its length, yet my duty bound me to chalk out the foundations of what I did from the beginning suspect would produce such considerable changes in this government. I relate all that hath been hitherto past without any mixture. But some truths and reflections that are too early for that place, (not knowing into what hand it may fall) I presume to mention unto your Lordship here a part. And first to begin with the King, who (as your Lordship already knows) being in his childhood blasted on his right side, and the Doctors taking a destructive method to cure him by drawing out his blood, left not only that part of his body ever since in a paralytical estate, but his soul and understanding so eclipsed, and so broken, that as no education could have ever made him perfect, so the
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want of all, hath left him crude and miserable. However he hath some glances and short fits, wherein his discourse appears not only very tolerable, but with sparks of good apprehension: Yet these fits soon vanish, and seldom return; nor is he sensible of the variation, but all seasons seem to him alike.

The virtues he possess'd, (if I may speak of him in a falling estate) were so transported beyond all reasonable limits, that they became as destructive to his government, as any of his other faults. For as he knew nothing of dissimulation, but always spoke the truth; so what evil he ever heard of any man, he would in his anger upbraid him of it, without consideration of time, or place, or the person. He was in his nature exceeding liberal; but his gifts falling on those who were unworthy of them, gave scandal to the meritorious; and the poverty of the kingdom made that absolute profuseness, which might have past for bounty. He was in his mind very stout and couragious, but so pufft up with a vain fancy of being the only hector living, that, when he heard of any criminal that had done some barbarous murder, or slaughtered the justice, he would presently call him to the court, and

and at least make him one of his guards. He affected with his own hands to kill Bulls, Boars, and other beasts; and in frequent occasions has shewn too little respect to the lives of men. He almost changed day into night, and night into day: His dinner he commonly eats in bed, and that in prodigious quantity. He sometimes smokes tobacco, and drinks wine, altogether beyond the standard of *Portugal*. For women he had a kind of Seraglio, doting on them (as they themselves affirm) without any effect, but rather taking for divertisement the disorders he puts others upon; although the Conde de *Castelmelhor*, to silence the imputation of his insufficiency, kept in his house a child (of four years old) under the name of his daughter, which now is called a cheat, and made a theme of derision. I can willingly omit other circumstances of his Majesty's structure and composition, with the irregular effects produced thence, because it is hard without trouble and reluctance to speak any thing ill of a King. However it is manifest, that the Queen was not herein ignorant in any tittle, before she left *France*, or was engaged in the marriage; but being a Lady of boundless ambition, and her desires to govern prevailing over

LETTERS *of*

over all other passions, the defects of this Prince, and the dissuasions she received against him, were but as so many incentives to warm her in the undertaking. But when she came upon the place, and found her husband engrossed, and in the captivity of the Conde and his confederates; and that the more she mutinied to partake in the government, the more she was excluded from it; and that the King oftner met to chide and rant against her, that to let her understand she was married, she could no longer support or accommodate to this kind of life; and therefore maintained a secret correspondence with the Infant, begun (I suppose) on the foundation of ruining the Conde, but since producing other and more strange effects, which in short are no less than love and a purpose of marriage. Her great instruments and advisers have been Monsieur *Verjeux* her Confessor, a Jesuit, and the Abbot *de St. Romain* himself; a cabal of such active and unquiet spirits, that as they have had a great share in these present distractions, so they are fit instruments to disturb half the world, and from their own mouths how the scene is laid, I have had it from a most faithful relater as follows: That the Infant being passionately

fionately in love with the Queen, when the Cortes meet, the King shall first be dethroned, then secured in a monastery, and the Infant have the crown put upon his head: That the Queen is at the same time to withdraw into a convent, and a while after, upon her declaration that she is still a virgin, the marriage to be declared null: So that without the necessity of any dispensation, the Infant will take her to him for his wife. This may sound strangely to your Lordship, but the substance of it is not so in the streets of *Lisbon*; for it is grown the universal rumour of churchmen as well as laicks; and the King himself, among other reasons which he threw out against the meeting of the Cortes, said exclaimingly, that one of their business intended, was to labour his divorce.

When it was put to the *French* Gentlemen abovementioned, if the Queen had sufficient assurance of this party with the Infant, they did not answer with any doubt thereof; yet affirmed, that, come all accidents that can happen, the Queen had better hazard all, than lead her life with such a husband.

For my own part, I believe she will be disappointed, for I have heard some of the Infant's party, and men of note
say

say, she had discovered so daring and adventurous a spirit in some of the late affairs, that they rather applauded her usefulness in these mutations, than seemed fond of her government or regency. And the Infant will perhaps remember, that what she has done in his favour hath been done against her husband; and so when she is in the convent, put the key in his pocket.

For the Infant, I cannot find out, that any of this progress is made upon the stock of his own endowments: However being very ductile, and conforming exactly with what he is directed to do, he is praised by all, as well for his abilities as for his virtues. Yet so without aim, that I hear one company attribute wholly to his temper and moderation, that hitherto there has been no effusion of blood; while another company cry up his resolution, and that all his friends had faintly given over, had not he alone animated the work. The great wheel of the contrivance has been this: First grounding themselves on the certain knowledge of the King's shattered understanding, and his strong and outrageous passions, they have stript him of all those servants, who might serve either as directors, or as skreens unto him; where-
by

by nothing becomes necessary to his ruin, but the being abandoned to his own conduct, and exposed to the eyes of the people. And according to this project it is visible, how that from time to time his irregularities are all noted, conveyed and divulged, and almost all his servants are turned spies upon him.

And this dismembring and extrusion of the persons about him, beginning with the Conde de Castelmelhor, 'tis pretty to observe, how that hardly any thing is said ever since of the crime first laid to the Conde's charge: However, it was thought necessary to accuse him of a thing that would make all peoples ears to tingle (as the intention to poison the Infant) and engage them all as parties in the quarrel, until the truth were known. In order to which, all that was demanded seemed very reasonable, it being only that the Conde would separate himself for a while from the court: But in this separation, and such others as this should give example unto, consisted the great introduction into the work.

I have this afternoon discoursed with a gentleman of very good knowledge, and a follower to the Infant, whose language to me was this: "Sir, the three estates
" must inevitably be called together, and
" that

“that to judge and give approbation to
“what hath past; for hitherto it can be
“called nothing else than rebellion; and
“on this side the *Pyreneans*, never any
“such thing escaped with a better name;
“but (says he) when the three estates of
“the kingdom shall be assembled, which
“make a supream council, and leaves the
“King in little other estate than that of a
“particular person, then the motives and
“provocations of all these things being
“made apparent, and the guilt and disor-
“ders of those who have been accused
“being brought to examination and final
“sentence, all these traverses will have
“their justification from the authority of
“that assembly, and the world be con-
“vinced of the equity of all proceedings.”
What I presume to observe to your Lord-
ship is this: That let the government fall
into whose hands it will, it is certain
that the people will hardly in half an
age be brought to that distance and hu-
miliation towards the supreme Magi-
strate, which before they were in; for
they have been so debauched by the opi-
nion of authority infused into them, and
so made use of and courted on either
side, to avow and face all these muta-
tions, that their language is grown as li-
centious

centious against their Prince, as could be imagined in any popular State.

One of the greatest motives divulged to incite all persons to an impatience for the convocation of the Cortes was, that then the treaty with *Spain* might be revived: And amongst the common sort nothing was more current, than that the proposition which I have by me from *Madrid* of forty five years truce, and the title of crown should be accepted. But in the midst of these discourses, so many letters have come from *Madrid*, confirming that the title of King is there granted already, that they all turn their eyes that way, expecting when the person will arrive, whom my Lord *Sandwich* is to dispatch from thence. Monsieur *St. Romaine* has great apprehensions of this effect, and may perhaps in time be sensible, that he has not served *France* in helping to pull down the Conde de *Castelmelbor*; for as he contributed to the counsels of the Queen in order to that overthrow, so, to justify the same, he hath writ into *France*, that had the Conde longer subsisted, he would have broken and dissolved the league, and accepted any agreement from *Spain*: Although the contrary be not only so manifest, that all the papers, whether serious
or

libellous, that now come abroad, accuse the Conde therein; but his very friends reproach him for the folly and imprudence of preferring the *French* interest, before that of the accommodation offered by the means of *England*. But this *French* prank is very remarkable, and smiled at by the prevailing party, who rejoice to see one who, having so much reason to be the Conde's friend, should find out so admirable a reason to turn his enemy,

The Council of State having observed unto what an height the people were flown, being impatient at the King's refusal of the Cortes, did themselves so far press and importune him to give ear unto the universal voice, that at last his Majesty is, as it were, squeezed to a compliance, and hath consented thereunto. However not (as was desired) that the meeting should be on the first of *January* next, but he will have it on the second of *February*: Yet it may be easily conjectured from the heat and activity of the prosecutors, that a shorter day will be obtained for that assembly, which is to give every man those golden mountains he hath promised himself by a reformation. I humbly beseech your Lordship to afford me, by the first opportunity,

tunity some instructions, not only with reference to these mutations here, but also to the probabilities now again revived, on the side of *Spain*, for an accommodation between these two crowns. It's true, I may well suppose that, when his Excellency my Lord *Sandwich* sends me any notice of this thing, he will also send me directions to steer by, and a signification of his Majesty's mind: Yet in as much as of late great mutations have been not only by a peace in the kingdom, whereby the necessity of this agreement is not so useful to his Majesty, nor the reward of his present guaranty so great; and that I hear there are changes even in our own court as well as in this; whether, together with all these variations, the maxims still continue one and the same, is not (I hope) an unpardonable question from a beginner, that covets nothing in this world so much as to do his Majesty's will. And therefore it is, that I beg your Lordship by your immediate favour and direction, to enlighten and strengthen me in my proceeding, in case any thing remain here for me to do: and if not, I shall rejoice at nothing more than my permission to return home from this dull and uncomfortable

P

place,

LETTERS of

place, that I may with personal services and applications, assure your Lordship how faithfully I am

My Lord,

Lisbon
Nov. 1st

Yours, &c.

ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

These are the heads of what the following Narrative doth contain.

Sect. I. **T**He Queen's falling out with the Secretary of State Antonio de Sousa, and his banishment upon her Majesty's complaint.

II. The arming of the palace.

III. The Infant accuses the Conde de Castelmelhor, by letters to the King and Queen, for arming the palace against him, and for forming designs to take away his life, and therefore he demands that the Conde be suspended his charge.

IV. The King and Council employ the Marquiss de Marialva, to pacify the Infant, but it proves in vain.

V. A letter from the Conde to the King, is read in Council, in order to his justification.

VI. The

VI. *The Marquiss de Sande and Ruy de Moura Tellez, are joined to the Marquiss de Marialva, to quiet the Infant, but all in vain.*

VII. *The Infant's second letter to the King with new aggravations; enforcing the former complaint, and persisting for the Conde's removal from the court.*

VIII. *The Conde strengthens his party in Council, by two new ones admitted to the board. The temper and disposition of them and the rest.*

IX. *The King and Council call the Judges of the land, to determine whether the Infant's complaint were sufficient for the banishment of the Conde; and the vote they passed to the contrary.*

X. *The form of certain letters writ by the Infant to all the tribunals, and other societies of people, to engage them in his quarrel.*

XI. *The Infant calls to him all the Nobility and Gentry, and exposes his case unto them.*

XII. *The King on his part does the like, and forbids their assembling at the Infant's palace; and also exhorts, as well the ecclesiastical as civil societies, to attend to their allegiance, and the peace of the kingdom.*

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XIII. *The King animates his Council, and sends a rough message to the Infant, declaring that the cause was his own. Unto which the Infant replies, complaining of the harsh manner of proceeding against him.*

XIV. *The Conde useth means to have the Secretary revoked; which the Queen, after much aversion, seemed inclinable to, but with design to get the mediation of the whole quarrel into her hands.*

XV. *The Conde makes several obliging proposals to engage the Queen, and yet hangs off for a time, fearing to lye wholly at her mercy.*

XVI. *Some secret proposals are made to the Infant in order to pacification, but because they comprehend the Conde's removal, though but for a short time, they all vanish.*

XVII. *The King signs a letter which the Conde framed to the Infant; partly to answer the last long one which was received; but rather to invite the Infant to the court, and desiring that all might be forgot.*

XVIII. *The King talks roundly to his Council, with purpose to frighten the Conde's enemies, and to animate his friends.*

XIX. *The*

XIX. *The Conde finds that the Prince will not be satisfied, and therefore flies to the Queen's mediation, which she passionately embraces (in order to the Conde's more certain ruin.)*

XX. *The Infant's resolute answer to the King's last letter.*

XXI. *The Conde desires Sir Robert Southwell, to wait on the Queen, and excite her zeal in pacifying the troubles of the court.*

XXII. *The common people are ready to mutiny, upon news spread abroad that the Infant would depart, upon which and the Infant's declaration to the same effect, the Queen reports unto the King, that it was necessary to separate the Conde from the court.*

XXIII. *The King's passion and outrage when that determination was brought him, and how only the Conde's persuasions could bring the King to consent.*

XXIV. *The Queen's desire to the Infant, to give a protection under his hand for the safety of the Conde's life and honour: And the same granted accordingly.*

XXV. *The Conde's discourses with Sir Robert Southwell before his departure.*

XXVI. *The manner of the Conde's departure*

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XXVII. *The Queen's disappointment, by observing that the business did not yet fall into her hands, but that in Council, the charges of the government were distributed to several persons, all interpreted to be as of the Conde's direction.*

XXVIII. *The Marquis de Niza hath conferred upon him the superintendency of the fleet. The Marquis de Marialva that of the army, and the Marquis de Sande the care of foreign affairs: But these two last dispute long before they accept their charges.*

XXIX. *The King refuses to see the Infant, and talks of nothing but the Conde's return: The people on the contrary, begin to talk of assembling of the three estates, in order to a general reformation.*

XXX. *Henrique Henriquez de Miranda, a great favourite of the King's, falls desperately sick; but recovering and not giving content to the Infant, he saves his life by flight.*

XXXI. *The Tribune of the people, and his brethren, come to tell the King the danger of a mutiny in the city, if he did not admit his brother unto him; with which, and other persuasions, he admits the Infant, and thereupon the extraordinary guards which had been in arms*

arms from the beginning; and the Embargo are taken off.

XXXII. The King returns again to his passion against the Infant; and the town is in danger of a tumult.

XXXIII. A committee is appointed to find out ways for the raising of money.

XXXIV. The King sends word to the Queen, that he would have his Secretary of State return to the court without more delay, and sends her Majesty the order of Council, by which he was only suspended but for a few days.

XXXV. The Secretary comes to the court and falls to his business.

XXXVI. The Queen is greatly moved hereat, and being scandalized at the tenour of that order which was shewn her, she does not only send the Conde de Castelmelhor a most mortifying reproof, but presents to the King and Council, a memorial, wherein she dischargeth all her passion.

XXXVII. The Queen exciteth the Infant to repair her against the Secretary, who has now added a new crime, by his reproaches towards her Confessor, and Monsieur Verjeux.

XXXVIII. The King privately consults with some of his confidants. He

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intends to retire with some regiments of Alcantara, and gives orders for the seizing five principal persons of the Infant's faction; and is advised to secure the Infant himself.

XXXIX. *All this is discovered and prevented by the Infant and his followers, who come in a tumultuous number to the court, and in substance ruffle the King, and tear away the Secretary of State.*

XL. *The Secretary of State flies that night from the court, and the King grows impatient the next day to find him out, but all in vain.*

XLI. *The Infant's bounty; and his donatives to the soldiers.*

XLII. *Two of the King's confidants are set upon and wounded by night, and other of his servants fly from the court: Also the sudden death of the Conde de Castelmelhor's uncle, after a chiding which the Queen gave him.*

XLIII. *Several libels fly abroad against the Conde, who by the Infant's command retires from his convent, but one day's distance from hence, to his house near forty leagues off.*

XLIV. *The Bull-feasts are renewed; and the King drives from his service the Conde de Valdores, without any reason.*

XLV. *The*

XLV. *Other servants that stuck to the King, are terrified away by ruffians, calling themselves, Souls out of Purgatory.*

XLIV. *The People cry out loudly for Cortes, as the only remedy of their grievances, which they express and set forth in all their colours.*

XLVII. *The Senate of Lisbon represents to the King, these desires of the people, but are rejected by him.*

XLVIII. *The King being at his wits end, endeavours to make his escape, but is prevented by the Infant.*

XLIX. *The people talk of an old custom of holding Cortes triennial, and threaten to pay no taxes if the King will not consent thereunto.*

L. *The Marquis de Sande advises the King to four points, and his Majesty being exceedingly press'd by all, does at last consent to the calling of Cortes, which are to meet the first of January next.*

A Narrative of the proceedings in the court of Portugal, concerning the discharge of the Conde de Castelmelhor the Secretary of State, and others, from their offices, &c. in August, September, October, November 1667.

I. **T**HE City Magistrates of *Lisbon*, having agreed to solemnise the King's birth-day with Bull-feasts (being the $\frac{1}{2}$ of *August*, which made his Majesty twenty-four years of age) and the first entertainment being past, the next was to follow on the $\frac{1}{2}$ 7th; when the King himself going the day before into the country, as always he is wont to do, to that uncouth delight of chusing and driving home the Bulls: The Conde de *Castelmelhor* was also absent with him. And now the Queen being top-full of anger and impatience, at several of the Conde's proceedings with her, took this conjuncture to send for *Antonio de Sousa de Macedo*, Secretary of State, and expostulate with him upon her many grievances; as in particular, the undecent shifts she was reduced unto by the flow
income

Friday Aug.
26, 1667.

income of her revenue; the ignorance she was kept in of all publick affairs, and particularly of the duke of *Cadaval's* return to the court, though she had herself been a solicitor in that affair. Then that in the indifference arising between her Major-Domo and the Secretary, in point of privilege, that the cause should be first sent unto the Judges; and because it there had passed in disfavour of her Secretary the Conde's creature, it must then be tost from thence, and brought before the Council of State; whereas this whole proceeding was contrary to the jurisdiction she ought to have over her own servants, and it shewed her plainly how much in all things she was undervalued, and even treated little better than a Negro, and added, that as all this sprung from the Conde's insolence and ill-nature, so he took upon him in every concern, the name of the King, to warrant his particular disrespect and hatred.

It seems the Secretary, whether in zeal to his patron the Conde, or by his infirmity, which is to be over-passionate in all his matters, so exceedingly forgot himself in the behaviour and in the expressions which became him towards her Majesty, that she broke out into an absolute rage against him, and as soon as
ever

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ever the King came home, she so effectually did his errand, that the King grew also incensed, vowing to suspend him from his charge, and presently to banish him the court. But when the Queen expected the execution of this sentence, the next thing she heard from the King was an intercession in his behalf, and that if the Secretary must be sent away, he would also go with him: For the Conde, and others about the King had represented the Secretary as a quiet, innocent man, and that the Queen being a stranger, understood not the style of things, and was therefore passionate without a cause. And to make this more evident, the Secretary presented his Majesty with a paper containing all the conference which had passed, and the form of his behaviour, which being read in council, seemed to determine that the Queen was angry without a cause, and he an inoffensive man. But her Majesty understanding hereof, called this paper an absolute libel against her: And boiling in her mind to see the Conde's influence over the King; and also touched in honour, that after all people had discoursed of the justice the King had done her, the sentence should be so suddenly reversed, to the great shame and insufficiency of her complaint;

complaint; she knew not how to submit to these provocations, but in the first place undertaking the Conde's mother (who is chief in her service) she chased her away from her charge, or from her presence at least, with words of great bitterness and reproach towards her son; and then setting down in writing the scandalous behaviour of the Secretary, she so persisted in demand of justice and reparation against him, that the King, and others the Secretary's friends, thinking that all would end in a short compliance with her Majesty in this point; he was dismissed the court on *Thursday August 31*, *Thursday Aug.* retiring himself to *Seintra*; where, though^{31.} he carried with him his Majesty's smiles and pity, yet he found little favour in the common voice; which reviled, exploded, and condemned him to a perpetual exile, and thought it a revenge hardly sufficient to one, whom they had experimented a harsh, froward, and vexatious man in all his business.

II. The Infant, though according to his custom he kept then at home, not frequenting the court but on publick formal days, as living in a state of jealousy with his brother; yet he had well noted the progress of all this contention, and besides, it was from the Queen herself conveyed

LETTERS *of*

conveyed unto him, as one, who had on his own account, many old and implacable scores to ballance with the Conde, or to secure at least, the Infant's approbation in the equity of her proceedings. And whether it were true that was told, I cannot yet learn; but the same night of the Secretary's departure, at eleven o'clock, there came a Friar to the Conde, as he was in his great room of audience, and secretly told him of an assembly of Gentlemen that were gathering at the Infant's with design that very night, when he retired to his lodgings, which are an apartment adjoining to the palace, to fall upon him, and take away his life. The Conde hereupon leading this Friar to verify the same thing to his Majesty, orders were immediately given for doubling the guards; and the next morning many of the Conde's friends drew early to the palace about him, and were not ill provided with arms, though in secret.

III. But the news hereof soon hastened unto the Infant's ears, and wanting not the utmost aggravations that such a thing was capable of, the Infant called unto him his most confiding dependants, and (as the issue of their councils) this night at nine of the clock, the Infant's Secretary *Joa de Roches* was sent with
letters

letters to the King and Queen, all writ in the Infant's own hand. The copies whereof I hereunto annex and thus translate,

S I R,

“ I do with great anxiety fling myself at Friday Sept. 2.
 “ your Majesty's feet, whom I reverence as The Infant's
 “ my King and Lord, and respect with all first letter to
 “ the love of a brother: And this together the King.
 “ with the exorbitancy of the Conde de
 “ *Castelmelhor*, obliges me to tell your Ma-
 “ jesty, that he having tried all those me-
 “ thods that his malice could invent for
 “ the destruction of my life, as is apparent
 “ by testimonies of great zeal and suffici-
 “ ency, and which only by my care and
 “ diligence hath been prevented: His in-
 “ solence hath yet so far transcended, as to
 “ arm your Majesty's own palace, with in-
 “ sinuations as if I intended to violate that
 “ sanctuary; whereas it is evident from his
 “ former practices, that his intention here-
 “ in was to assault my person. I cannot
 “ but hope from your Majesty's justice,
 “ that for this his machination, you will
 “ execute such punishment, by separating
 “ from your service this vassal, that I may
 “ not be driven to the necessity of seeking
 “ a foreign country wherein to pass my
 “ life, as of force I must, in case I shall
 “ not

LETTERS of

“not experiment in your Majesty on this
 “occasion, that love which always I en-
 “deavoured and shall still strive to deserve,
 “wherever I be. God preserve your Ma-
 “jesty, &c.

Sept. 2, 1667.

The INFANT.”

As soon as the said letter was delivered unto the King, and the bearer departed, the King gave it unto the Conde *de Castelmelbor*, who wonderfully surprised to read the contents thereof, presently advised his Majesty to send for his privy council, who accordingly all met about twelve a clock at night; at which hour though physick and infirmity pleaded the excuse of some, yet none of them were exempted.

The letter from the Infant to the Queen was as followeth,

MADAM,

The Infant's
 first letter to
 the Queen.

“The insolence of the Conde *de Castel-*
 “*melbor* hath risen to that height, as to
 “arm the palace of the King my master
 “with ill intentions against my person;
 “upon notice whereof I now fly unto his
 “Majesty, representing the same by letter,
 “and inclosing to your Majesty a copy of
 “it, that your Majesty may understand the
 “justice of my complaint, and support the
 “same

“ same with that authority which it de-
 “ serves; that so his Majesty may not fail
 “ in those demonstrations which the case
 “ requires.

“ Sept. 2, 1667. The INFANT.”

IV. The resolution which was taken that night by the Council, was, to advise his Majesty to send the Marquis *de Marialva* (being one in great estimation with the Infant) to deliver his Highness a message, which accordingly he took with him in writing, and left it with his Highness, in the terms following:

“ The King commanded me to tell his Saturday Sept.
 “ Highness, that the guards which were 3, the Marq.
 “ doubled in the palace the nights of the de Marialva is
 “ first and second instant, were by his Ma- sent to assuage
 “ jesty’s order: Because that about eleven the Infant.
 “ a clock, he had advice from a religious
 “ person, that the people intended to mu-
 “ tiny: And his Majesty remembring from
 “ the last mutiny, with how little respect
 “ they flung stones against the palace win-
 “ dows, he desired to prevent the like issue,
 “ which might as well now happen, and
 “ this was the reason of that preparation,
 “ and not what his Highness relates in his
 “ letter: For had it been so, and the or-
 “ ders proceeded from the Conde *de Castel-*
 “ *melhor,*

Q

“ *melhor*, contrary to the respect which is
 “ due to his Highness, his Majesty would
 “ kill the Conde with his own hand, in-
 “ asmuch as the love which his Maje-
 “ sty bears unto his Highness, and the
 “ passion he hath to content him in all
 “ things, demands all the demonstrations
 “ thereof; for he loves him not only as
 “ a brother, but as a son.

“ In the next place, that it was mere
 “ forgetfulness that his Highness had not
 “ advice given him in this matter, that so
 “ he might have been present in his pa-
 “ lace, which is only to be excused by the
 “ unseasonableness of the time, and the
 “ haste which was then required. And
 “ his Majesty further says, that I should,
 “ as from myself, endeavour to know of
 “ his Highness, if he pleased that the
 “ Conde *de Castelmelhor* might wait on
 “ him and kiss his hand.”

Unto this message, the Infant returned
 answer to the King by another, to the
 purpose following :

The Infant
 will not be
 pacified.

“ That he humbly kissed his Majesty’s
 “ hands for the honour and favour he did
 “ him by the message he had received, and
 “ hoped his Majesty would give him leave
 “ to affirm, that about eleven that night,
 “ he being in his bed, there came a person
 “ to

“ to him, one that had newly been in his
 “ Majesty’s own chamber, and told him
 “ that the guards of the court were doub-
 “ led ; that horsemen were gathering in the
 “ outward court ; and all by the Conde’s
 “ order, to resist the Infant, who designed
 “ to enter the palace, contrary to the re-
 “ verence due to his Majesty. Whereas
 “ by the posture and retirement he then
 “ was in, and the veneration wherewith
 “ those places are to be approached where
 “ his Majesty abides, makes the wicked
 “ and evil intentions evident, wherewith
 “ this story was raised. And seeing it is
 “ otherwise notorious, and that even from
 “ hence there appears a mark of treason
 “ in the Conde, the Infant hopes from
 “ his Majesty’s justice, some demonstra-
 “ tion, as may in part satisfy his present
 “ troubles and resentments.”

The Marquis *de Marialva* was sent
 again a second time that day, to enforce
 what he had formerly delivered, and to
 tell his Highness, “ That his Majesty could
 “ not but expect, at this repeated signifi-
 “ cation of his mind concerning what had
 “ passed, but that he ought to be satisfied ;
 “ desiring that his Highness would lay all
 “ aside and come to visit him ; which he
 “ desired very much.” But his Highness

only replied, "That all his Majesty did was
 "an honour to him, and that he coveted
 "nothing more than an open way to lay
 "himself, and the complaints he had a-
 "gainst the Conde, at his Majesty's feet."
 Whereupon finding how little the Infant
 was hitherto to be wrought upon, a Council
 of State was summoned to meet this *Sa-*
turday evening, and to take further resolu-

The Court in
 great perplex-
 ity.

tions: The which before I mention, it
 may not be unfit to say in what a per-
 plexity, coming that morning to court,
 I found it. There were so many messen-
 gers running one against another for hast;
 so many parcels of friends drawn to the
 corners to relate and cherish the Infant's
 complaints; other cabals as active to dis-
 suade and lessen the validity of it; some
 came to serve, some to envy, some to
 ingratiate, and all to wonder at least;
 which way the game would go; so that
 I easily perceived all things were in a
 high confusion.

The Conde, who affected to keep his
 accustomed station, and in his great
 room of audience to expose himself un-
 to all comers, was there as the center of
 all these lines. He consulted with many,
 received addresses from others, and was
 often in and out with the King; but it
 appeared by the care which was in his
 face

face, that he managed no man's business but his own. However, I took occasion to speak unto him, and saying that a vessel was just departing, by which I expected to write for *England*; he told me I might represent what I saw, but he hoped matters would speedily grow calm, there being some expedients in motion to that end. And for his innocency, he doubted not but to make it shine as bright as ever, although the cloud were thick and powerful which now oppressed it. I told his Excellency, that he might remember how much the King my master took to heart the last disagreement between the King and the Infant, and the orders I had to proceed by on that occasion, which I was ready to apply at present to this, if his Majesty here should think it fit. But the Conde, with words of great thankfulness for his Majesty's indulgence to these kingdoms, replied, that he thought it would not be proper as yet to make any use of the orders I had.

Sir R. Southwell acquaints the Conde of orders he had formerly received.

As for the letter which her Majesty received from the Infant, she sent it unto the King, desiring his advice in the answering of it; but his Majesty sent her word, that he would direct her in the manner of her answer, when he saw it

Q₃

seasonable

seasonable to make one; so that the Queen seemed to acquiesce, and remain as it were wholly withdrawn from the business.

The Conde provides himself a general discharge from his Majesty in matter of accounts, and a confirmation of his grants.

I was this day told by one, that he had seen the night before in great secrecy, a solemn decree signed by the King, confirming to the Conde all his grants, and exempting him from all examinations about money, and several other matters wherein the Conde's quiet and security was provided for, in case things came to the worst; of which it seems his powerful adversary gave him very early apprehensions.

V. And now during the sitting of the Council, into which he entered not, either at this time or after, while his cause was in agitation, there was read a paper, which he had presented to the King, as well in testimony of his services, as for the compurgation of his innocence; a copy whereof I herewith send, and put into *English* as followeth:

S I R,

The Conde de Castelmelhor's letter to the King in his own justification.

“ With all humility I prostrate myself
 “ at your royal feet, imploring your Ma-
 “ jesty to cast an eye on this paper which
 “ (the better to obtain its end) touches
 “ upon

“ upon the deserts of a subject, who,
“ having now served his Prince for al-
“ most six years time, has the satisfac-
“ tion to hear, that there is not this
“ day any Prince in *Europe* to whom
“ a subject has done greater services than
“ I have done for your Majesty; and
“ to enforce my request, I have the
“ advantage to be by the favour of Hea-
“ ven son and descendant from those,
“ who in all the extremities of this
“ realm have sacrificed their lives for
“ their Princes service.

“ The honour which I derive from
“ these, and that which by my own
“ undertakings I have acquired, is so
“ much oppressed at this time, that
“ putting in counterballance the interest
“ I have to serve your Majesty, and
“ the happiness resulting to me from
“ thence, with my present trouble and
“ grief, I find my grief does weigh
“ down all the rest. And this by rea-
“ son of an accusation presented your
“ Majesty by his Highness, who is made
“ believe by my enemies, that I should
“ machinate against his life. So great
“ is my misfortune, that, notwithstand-
“ ing the proofs which I and my pre-
“ decessors have given of fidelity and
“ zeal to the Princes of *Portugal*, they
“ have

“ have now persuaded his Highness that
“ I should most sacrilegiously have de-
“ vised to deprive the kingdom of a
“ successor, your Majesty of a brother,
“ and the catholick religion of a friend
“ and supporter.

“ Innocence is not always sufficient
“ to vanquish calumnies; and misfor-
“ tunes most commonly appear like
“ storms, in which the sufferer hath no-
“ thing so much to fear, as the force
“ and strength they have in them.

“ By the services done your Majesty
“ for the space of six years passed: So
“ many battles won, so many encoun-
“ ters decided by the fortune of your
“ Majesty's arms in favour of this king-
“ dom; so many places gained from the
“ enemy; so many fleets equipped, and
“ all the care thereof passing through
“ these hands: The kingdom now fur-
“ nished with double the horse and foot
“ which it had when your Majesty un-
“ dertook the government: The treaty
“ of *France* made so much to the ad-
“ vantage of this crown; and the trea-
“ ty with *Castile* laboured also to that
“ degree, as by the determinations of
“ council may appear: So much up-
“ rightness in all which concerned the
“ service of your Majesty, and of parti-
“ culars,

“ culars; with so much facility in giving audience unto all; and, which is above the rest, to have had the happiness to procure and see the marriage of your Majesty, as also to have endeavoured, (and with how much zeal God Almighty best knows,) the marriage of his Highness: Finally, my attendance upon your Majesty by day and by night, never having exempted myself two natural days from my employment; and having thus continued in your Majesty’s service, I might, for all that is before rehearsed, well pretend and beg of your Majesty titles and lands, and hope that your Majesty’s generosity would make my services and fortune exemplary to all others. And all might well be thus, if that my honour were not blemished. But because it now appears under the highest oppression, I beseech your Majesty to grant me the liberty of retiring myself to my own country house, there to pass the rest of life in some corner so solitarily, that I may not be troubled with the shame of being seen. All my services I fling at your Majesty’s feet for the obtaining of this favour, that so I may find myself sufficiently alone
“ to

“ to deplore my own disgraces, and
“ your Majesty may please to employ
“ one or more persons in your royal
“ service, who secure of their fame
“ may only attend the duty and exe-
“ cution of their charges. But if my
“ services may not prevail with your
“ Majesty for this separation, let ei-
“ ther that love do it, wherewith I
“ did and shall continually admire your
“ Majesty; or else that gracious eye,
“ wherewith your Majesty hath always
“ vouchsafed to regard me; for there
“ is no other thing in the state I am,
“ able to give me consolation. And if
“ for further scrutiny into the crime
“ whereof I am impeached, it be
“ thought necessary that I confine my-
“ self unto some tower, I shall imme-
“ diately obey; for it imports me a-
“ bove all things to justify my inno-
“ cence, not only for the satisfaction of
“ his Highness, but because my chil-
“ dren may not upbraid me for dege-
“ nerating from the example of their
“ ancestors, and for having stained their
“ blood with such a reproach. Where-
“ ver I be, I shall beseech the Al-
“ mighty God to preserve your Maje-
“ sty's royal person in that safety, which
“ we

" we your vassals wish for and cannot
" be without. *Lisbon, Sept. 3, 1667.*

The Conde *de Castelmelhor.*"

VI. This letter had only a favourable reading, and some copies of it were carefully spread abroad; but the appeasing the infant being the point in question, what this sitting of the council produced towards it, will appear in the following message, where two other counsellors of state are joyned as commissioners for the better conduct and maturing of this agreement. And this was the resolution and command which his Majesty gave, " That the Marquiss *de Marialva*, the Marquiss *de Sande*, and " *Ruy de Moura Tellez* go to the Infant's " house, and tell him from me, that I " having seen the letter which he writ " unto me upon two points, the first " touching the evil intention wherewith " the Conde endeavoured to kill the said " Infant, that I desire to know from him " the person who told him so, to the " end I may presently send and examine " him, and chastise the Conde in the " most severe manner, if the proofs be " good; but if not, that I may do justice " upon him who hath raised a report
" of

Sunday, Sept 4.
A committee
of the Council
are appointed
to go and paci-
fy the Prince.

LETTERS of

“ of such consequence, restoring to th^e
 “ Conde his honour, and punishment to
 “ him who is in fault. To the second
 “ point, concerning the Conde’s ordering
 “ persons to be armed in the palace; that
 “ I commanded it to be done, having ad-
 “ vice from two ecclesiasticks, that in this
 “ city there was danger of a mutiny; and
 “ in as much as I commanded the thing,
 “ no person ought to be punished for its
 “ execution, and they shall let the Infant
 “ understand, how much it imports the
 “ kingdom, himself and me, that there
 “ be a good friendship and understanding
 “ between us, and how necessary it is for
 “ the preservation of the subject.”

The INFANT’S Answer.

The Infant
 will not be
 diverted from
 his prosecuti-
 on.

“ He desired the same persons to tell
 “ his Majesty in all humility, that, be-
 “ ing encouraged by the integrity where-
 “ with his Majesty is wont to preserve
 “ the terms of justice, and avoid the
 “ inconveniences which arise from the
 “ contrary, I thus reply unto the re-
 “ solution which his Majesty was plea-
 “ sed to send me, That to examine and
 “ enter into scrutiny of the Conde’s
 “ case, it is precisely necessary that he
 “ be displaced from the station and
 “ great power he now exercises, and
 “ that

“ that he depart the court unto such a
 “ distance as is convenient; that so the
 “ minds of men may remain with that
 “ freedom which is necessary in the ex-
 “ amination of so weighty a business.
 “ And as to the second point, concern-
 “ ing the preparation of arms in the
 “ palace, I hold myself amply satisfied
 “ with that declaration, that his Ma-
 “ jesty saith, it was done by his own
 “ appointment.”

VII. No sooner had these gentlemen
 discharged themselves of this errand to
 his Majesty, which they had newly re-
 ceived from the Infant; but there came *Sunday, Sept. 4.*
 also a second letter from him unto his
 Majesty, which should have come a little
 sooner, it being writ upon the subject of
 those messages, which the Marquis *de*
Marialva brought to him while he was
 employed alone: And the said letter was
 as followeth.

S I R,

“ Although I find the last paper *The Infant's*
 “ brought me by the Marquis *de Ma-* *second letter.*
 “ *rialva* to be short of the mes-
 “ sage I sent by him, and in the mes-
 “ sage he delivers to me by writing,
 “ much difference from that which he
 “ delivered me in speech; yet be it in
 “ one

" one form or the other, I answer
 " your Majesty with all the humility
 " which becomes me, that although the
 " evidences clearly make out that which
 " I alledged in my letter touching the
 " guards and arming of the palace; yet
 " seeing your Majesty declares that it
 " was by your orders, and upon an-
 " other account, I may not disbe-
 " lieve what your Majesty affirms,
 " but express myself entirely satisfied
 " therewith. However I cannot as yet
 " lose the resentment, that for secur-
 " ing the person of your Majesty, the
 " friends only of the Conde *de Castel-*
 " *melbor* should be called upon and
 " furnished with publick arms, and
 " that I should be forgot, who in all
 " reason ought to have been called
 " on first, as a person of greater trust,
 " assurance, and fidelity to your Ma-
 " jesty.

" But as to the other branch of my
 " letter, I can no ways acquiesce, it
 " being so fresh in my memory, how
 " that upon a bare suspicion, which the
 " Conde had of some evil intended a-
 " gainst him, your Majesty commanded
 " the issuing a strict commission of en-
 " quiry, nominating principal ministers
 " to execute the same, appointing for
 " many

“ many days the chief judges of the
 “ land to meet upon that affair, and
 “ to charge themselves with the adju-
 “ dication of it, your Majesty being
 “ given to understand, that in the per-
 “ son of your minister even your so-
 “ vereignty was affronted. So that up-
 “ on the least complaint or the least
 “ suspicion of the Conde, there was
 “ not a thing left which was not sif-
 “ ted, subverted, and annihilated. In this
 “ method ought your Majesty and the
 “ counsellors of state to take into con-
 “ sideration, whether it be not reason-
 “ able, whether it be not just, that
 “ upon this my (no small) complaint
 “ the same demonstrations be made,
 “ which your Majesty commanded in
 “ behalf of a vassal who is no more
 “ than a minister; and though there
 “ be so great a difference in the me-
 “ rits of our causes and between our
 “ persons, yet I shall rest contented that
 “ your Majesty use me herein as you
 “ did formerly the Conde *de Castel-*
 “ *melhor*; and command a scrutiny to
 “ be made into his proceedings. But
 “ as this cannot be put in execution,
 “ while he continues in the court and
 “ with the authority he holds, your
 “ Majesty must of necessity suspend
 “ him,

“ him, and order his removal from the
 “ place he is, yet with all security of
 “ his person and family whom I have
 “ no purpose to injure, but only that
 “ your Majesty would extend that ju-
 “ stice, (as my King and Lord whom
 “ God has placed in the throne of
 “ *Portugal*,) which is to be distribu-
 “ ted equally to the great as well as
 “ the little.

“ And as I am bound to preserve
 “ my life and secure it for the publick
 “ good, nothing can justify the put-
 “ ting it into hazard, unless to save
 “ your Majesty's; which is my obliga-
 “ tion, as I am your subject and your
 “ brother: Therefore being desirous to
 “ approach your Majesty and kiss your
 “ royal hand, I cannot do it without
 “ special warrant from your Majesty,
 “ and some demonstration of what is
 “ most powerful with your Majesty,
 “ whether the love to a brother who is
 “ your subject, or the esteem of a sub-
 “ ject who is your minister. God pre-
 “ serve &c. *Lix. Sept. 4, 1667.*

The INFANT.”

VIII. On the view of this letter and
 the other speeches coming from the In-
 fant,

fant, the Conde plainly saw the constancy and resolution of his enemy, and by examining his own strength and the number of his friends in the council, he began to see the necessity of greater support and more abettors of his cause. And inasmuch as it was thought advisable by him, that the King should recommend this affair unto the managers of his Council, as a more plausible and popular way of determining the quarrel, than if he did it by his single authority, wherein the Conde would be still suspected as the sole guide and operator. Therefore when the Council assembled on *Sunday* night, there were two new Counsellors of state admitted; the Bishop elect of *Leyria*, and the Conde *de Valdoreyes*. The first a powerful judge of the inquisition, whose nature fitted him with resolution and hardiness, as the Conde supposed this honour would do with zeal, to his cause; and the second a sober Gentleman of parts, and closely allied unto the Archbishop of *Braga* and *Ruy de Moura Telles* both fast friends to the Conde; and this latter, (being a man of vigour and ability) was the great staff on whom the Conde relied, and who indeed acquitted himself most strenuously in all

Two new Counsellors admitted to the Board to strengthen the Conde's party. The nature of them, and the rest.

R

the

the duties of friendship. Also whilst his cause kept in his strength, he had to his friend the Marquis *da Govea*, the Marquis *de Niza*, the Conde *de St. Laurenço*; and the Vice-Conde *de Ponte de Lima*. But these served more for number than activity, being some of them unfixed and irresolute: But at the upper end of the board, there sat the danger; for the Duke *de Cadavall* did, in all things proposed, vote entire satisfaction to the Infant's demands; the Marquis *de Marialva* was still his second, and the Marquis *de Sande* did little less, only carried his body more swimmingly, and playing the politician, would make panegyricks of the Conde, but still in conclusion the Infant was their Infant, and must be regarded as such.

The Judges of the land are to determine if the Conde ought to be suspended.

IX. At this meeting of the Council, the second letter of the Infant being read and considered, it was ordered that several of the Judges of the land should be the next day sent for together with a mixture of other particular Judges, and that before the King and council they should give their votes, whether it were fit, upon what the Infant alledged, to suspend the Conde and separate him from his charge. But whether on the notice hereof, or that it was before intended, the Infant

Infant did upon *Monday* morning very early dispatch away several letters to all the tribunals as well ecclesiastical as civil, and to the Councils which manage branches of the publick business, also to the Tribune of the people whom they call *Jaiz do Povo*, and his assembly of twenty-four, who being with himself, all mechanicks and elected by the people, are those from whom they receive their gospel, and either mutiny or sit still as these will have them.

The Infant
writes to several.

X. The form of the Infant's letter (being alike unto all, only their several titles given them,) as followeth:

“ I the Infant greet you well. Having resolved to expose unto the King my master the excesses wherewith the Conde de Castelmelhor has proceeded, (as will appear in the copy of what I herewith send) I have thought fit to give you an account thereof, that you may understand my desire is only to serve the King my master to procure the good of the kingdom, and the publick quiet; and I hope you will, as to the part which concerns you, represent the same in this manner unto his Majesty.

Lisbon, Sept.

8, 1667.

The INFANT.”

R 2

Upon

Monday Sept.

5. the gown-
men vote in
favour of the
Conde.

Upon the receipt of these letters the greater part of the courts that were sent unto, not knowing what to determine therein, came that morning to the palace to shew them to the King and to receive his commands for their government in this affair: The palace this day appeared in no little dust and disorder with the multitude of gownmen which there presented themselves, not only upon this motive, but in pursuance of the late order of the Council; there being twenty-seven of those, whereof twenty-three or twenty-four voted, that on a bare allegation the Conde might not be suspended, not only for the reasons they urged from law, and their professions, but some from the politicks, as that the Conde being a publick minister, and his reputation settled abroad with the ministers of other Princes, he could not easily be repaired in honour and credit with them, being once degraded, though he should in a short time be restored again. But three or four were of a contrary opinion, and very bold and confident in what they said.

The Conde
takes heart.

This happy declaration in the Conde's favour, put his pulse into a better temper; and it was very legible in his countenance and affability, how near he thought

thought himself unto a victory, and the bearing down of his opposers; and he also having made way to engage the Tribune of the people, and the twenty-four, and being for a while successful therein, and the publick voice slackening against him, and sometimes as it were equal, and in his favour, both he and his party took courage; and in the same proportion the chief abettors of the Infant begun to apprehend a foil, and that the field was lost.

XI. But while the court was thronged with those of the long robe, and their doctrine had there bespoke their welcome, the Infant was as active the same day to call unto him those of a higher Class, and as he had to the tribunals signified his complaint in writing, so to the Nobility and Gentry which had not as yet voluntarily flocked unto him, either out of caution, or the love of their quiet, he now sent particularly, that they should come unto him; and to each of them apart, he exposed the contents of his complaint against the Conde; insomuch that when they were told the sum of all, which was the putting in ballance an Infant of *Portugal* with a particular vassal, they were all so inflamed with such zeal and rage to his service, as that each

The Infant
calleth unto
him the Gen-
try.

offered himself to be the Conde's executioner: Nor were the friends, and even those of the Conde's partiality, left out from this invitation, insomuch that they all declared to his Highness in their turns, that if he would himself affirm the accusation to be true, they would not only abandon their friend, but destroy him; which yet they could not do while his Highness only spoke what he was informed, and wherein there might be as well malice as mistake.

*Tuesday, Sept.
6, 7. and 8.
The King does
the same, and
forbids them
to go to the
Infant.*

XII. This method of proceeding appeared very formidable unto the Conde, knowing that which way the Gentry were bent, they would also join as well their arts as their power to attract the people; and therefore by his advice, the King called unto him the next day all the Nobility and Gentry, telling them one by one, how unkindly he took their thronging and caballing at the Infant's palace; that the cause in question was his own and not the Conde's; and therefore he conjured them upon their allegiance, to mind the quiet of the government, to meet no more at the palace, but come daily and attend upon him. The like exhortations he gave to several other branches of the people as well ecclesiastical as lay, which he sent for
unto

unto him, and especially to the tribune and representatives of the commons, calling the cause his own; that he very well knew by what had long since passed, and what at present he saw, that this affair concerned his throne, and required them all to attend unto the publick peace and their obedience. In such exhortations, (wherein he acquitted himself much better than was expected,) and in giving publick audience to all, in receiving their petitions, and exposing himself to the sight of the people from the palace windows, he spent the greatest part of the week, as seeking by all these methods to ingratiate himself and fortify his authority.

XIII. And when as he assembled the Council, (which he frequently did,) he would talk high and blustering, and would lay his hand upon his sword to point at his power, saying that he would endure no cowardly or inconstant servant about him. And all this was but to chafe and unite the courage of some, who began to stagger in the Conde's cause in dread of the Infant's resolutions, and with such an exhortation did he warm them on *Tuesday* night; where what the doctors had voted the day before, was then presented in writing to

The King excites his Council to resolution, and sends a round message to the Infant.

the Council; and thereupon did the King order the three aforesaid commissioners, to go the next day to the Infant, and declare what he resolved upon the whole matter; which said message will appear in the preface of the ensuing letter, which the Infant writ upon the *Friday* following in answer thereunto, and wherein he lays open some new, as well as his old complaints. The letter is thus in *English*.

S I R,

Friday Sept. 9.
the Infant's
answer, and
third letter.

“ By the Counsellors of State the Mar-
“ quiss *de Marialva*, *Sande* and *Ruy*
“ *de Moura Tellez*, your Majesty was
“ pleased to intimate to me, that you
“ had resolved the Conde *de Castelmel-*
“ *bor* should not forsake the court to
“ have the truth of my complaint ex-
“ amined; your Majesty taking motive
“ from the opinions of those doctors
“ which were consulted, of which I
“ had view presented me, and was told
“ thereupon, that I must return your
“ Majesty an immediate answer, inas-
“ much as the kingdom could not en-
“ dure the perturbation into which it
“ was put.

“ And supposing that I now ought
“ to accommodate myself to your Ma-
“ jesty's

“ jesty’s resolutions, as I have ever done
 “ in all my actions, yet I shall still save
 “ to myself the liberty of entreating
 “ your Majesty most seriously to vouch-
 “ safe a further consideration of this
 “ matter: For if it be lawful to re-
 “ view things of small importance, how
 “ much more this my concernment,
 “ which it is possible may tend to the
 “ destruction of me, the only Infant of
 “ *Portugal*, the brother and most faith-
 “ ful subject of your Majesty?

“ Sir, ’tis from hence I cannot but
 “ gather how much the Conde fears the
 “ examination of his offence, avoiding
 “ the test in any place, but where his
 “ hands are armed with all that pow-
 “ er which your Majesty hath resigned
 “ unto him. And this he now makes
 “ the more conspicuous, to intimidate
 “ the more the minds of the people,
 “ when they do see that a civil mat-
 “ ter must be disputed with violence.
 “ And thus the Doctors entering to give
 “ their votes, were by noise of drums
 “ placed in their way so confusedly and
 “ inconsiderately met together, that a
 “ part of them knew not so much as
 “ what was proposed unto them; and
 “ this is since manifested by the de-
 “ claration of some of themselves,
 “ who

“ who then voted in favour of the
 “ Conde; the matter being laid down
 “ unto them contrary to the truth of
 “ what was my demand, and contrary
 “ to the method by which I might obtain
 “ the same. For as I did not seek
 “ that the Conde should be banished,
 “ so neither could he by a single re-
 “ tirement endanger his honour. The
 “ redress I sought was against the great
 “ power he exercised; for should I prove
 “ the crime against him, then ought
 “ he presently to lose both honour and
 “ life; and if I proved it not, he pre-
 “ served both together with his place
 “ and station in the government. So
 “ that it appears with how much haste
 “ and perturbation those points were
 “ then considered. Certainly the opi-
 “ nions were much more sound, which
 “ were delivered by the Doctors *Joa-*
 “ *cim de Roches de Azivedra, Mar-*
 “ *tin Alfonso de Mello, and by Pedro*
 “ *Fernandez Monteiro*, who made his
 “ assertion evident by his practice for
 “ these twenty-seven years in things
 “ concerning offences against sovereign-
 “ ty, and particularly with the exam-
 “ ple of *Francisco de Lucena* (secreta-
 “ ry of State,) in whose cause the ac-
 “ cusation of a few private gentlemen
 “ alone

“ alone was not only sufficient for his
“ being taken into custody, but even
“ confined to a goal; and yet is it not
“ allowable that, on my complaint, the
“ Conde should so much as retire him-
“ self, though he left behind him, in
“ defence of his innocency, offices; and
“ of the favour he hath with your
“ Majesty, all his relations, confidents,
“ and creatures at your Majesty’s el-
“ bow. And as of these he hath even
“ augmented the number during the
“ time of this publick perturbation, so
“ it appears thereby how much safer
“ he thinks it to lye under the impu-
“ tation of flying from a scrutiny, than
“ put himself into the danger of be-
“ ing convicted: And on this ground
“ did he procure that your Majesty
“ made that declaration, how that the
“ Conde’s cause was your Majesty’s
“ own, whereby I became adjudged not
“ only as a troublesome and contenti-
“ ous man, but your Majesty evidenced
“ thereby, that the concerns of the
“ Conde were inseparable from those
“ of the crown; and all this is in a
“ concern so near unto me, who am
“ the only Infant and now immediate
“ successor to your Majesty in case the
“ descendants, which I wish unto your
“ Majesty,

LETTERS of

" Majesty, alter it not. So that it ap-
 " pears how the concerns of the Infant
 " were for the Conde's sake, made se-
 " parable from the crown; a thing
 " which hath given such authority
 " unto his boldness, as that he hath
 " swayed your Majesty to forbid those
 " Gentlemen who were wont to fre-
 " quent my palace (as well as others
 " whom the publick voice of my com-
 " plaint called about me,) to come any
 " more there, on pretext of some ima-
 " gined violence intended by them for
 " the compassing their ends. Which ex-
 " traordinary jealousy soon vanished by
 " a contrary proof, which your Majes-
 " ty found in their speedy obedience to
 " what you commanded.

" But from hence the Conde passes
 " on to make the world to believe,
 " that your Majesty could not be King,
 " if so be that the Conde should be but
 " a few days absent from your Maje-
 " sty's side; and herein not only defam-
 " ing myself but also all the whole No-
 " bility; and then continuing in guard
 " and arms against my person, as well
 " with horse and foot, it doth most
 " justly reinforce my first complaint;
 " for although your Majesty were in-
 " formed that those preparations were
 " on

“ on another account yet the event doth
 “ shew with what a pretext he delu-
 “ ded your Majesty, seeing it is now
 “ apparent that those preparations were
 “ only made against me; for either I
 “ must be the author and cause of those
 “ mutinies pretended, or some else is
 “ concerned in the danger of them. If
 “ the first, then the arming was against
 “ me; if the second, they are such dan-
 “ gers, as require not that royal per-
 “ sons (it seems) should make defence
 “ against them; for I myself was not
 “ advised to assist and to defend my pa-
 “ lace. And inasmuch as no man
 “ hath imparted unto me from whence
 “ the jealousy of a mutiny should arise,
 “ and that no man can tell me what is the
 “ cause of all the guards and prepara-
 “ tions; it is against the Infant, Sir, it
 “ is against the Infant, that the Conde
 “ *de Castelmelhor* doth arm in the fight
 “ of all the Nobility of the kingdom
 “ and the commons thereof, terrifying
 “ and disquieting the body politick, the
 “ better to oppress the freedom of their
 “ determinations. The Infant *Don Pe-*
 “ *dro* is not terrified by these arms,
 “ which if he were, he would tear o-
 “ pen the veins that held such blood,
 “ so unequal to the obligation of his
 “ birth

“ birth and the example of the Kings’
 “ his progenitors. This I speak to the
 “ end, that the true causes of those pre-
 “ parations may be manifest unto all.

“ The Conde would need have | this
 “ matter brought to an impossible com-
 “ posure; for such I call the conservation
 “ of us both: So that consequently on
 “ the question, whether to lose the In-
 “ fant, or part with the Conde, I find
 “ your Majesty resolved rather that the
 “ Infant should be lost, than that the
 “ Conde shall retire: Wherefore, rather
 “ than sacrifice my life, the lives of my
 “ servants, and of those who abett my
 “ cause, unto the violence of the Conde,
 “ I am forced upon that unavoidable ne-
 “ cessity of seeking my retreat, as before
 “ I well perceived. For there is no o-
 “ ther method left for the publick quiet,
 “ unto which I shall offer up all my in-
 “ terests, and my life itself; and so let
 “ the kingdom be discharged from these
 “ rumours of wars, and the Conde en-
 “ joy without interruption, that felicity
 “ which his violence hath procured him.

“ *Lisbon, Sept.*

9, 1667.

The INFANT.”

XIV. Before I mention any thing of
 the answer returned to this letter, I must
 not

not forget, that amongst the Conde's perplexities, it was not the least, that he wanted the help of the Secretary of State, who knew all his business and concerns, and who (notwithstanding the honour of his title) was made indeed no other than a perfect clerk unto him; wherefore the King, at his request, having made several instances to the Queen, that the Secretary might with her good liking, return, she was always violently against it, and for the most part answered, that it was fitter to send away the Conde also. The Conde very ill digested this opinion, for he ever hoped that, after the King had declared the quarrel to be his own, that then the Queen would by the laws of wedlock, embrace and maintain it; and laying aside for another day, the animosity against him, would strive to quench the flame by which she herself might be so great a loser.

But the Queen having a little time contemplated and advised upon this subject, began to give countenance, and those about her fair promises, to the Secretary's friends, that if a penitent confession were framed of his folly and disrespect unto the Queen, all should presently be forgot: And this was so seriously

The Conde
desires the re-
turn of the
Secretary.

The Queen
seems to com-
ply thereunto.

ously proposed, that her *French* Secretary framed the draught, and the Secretary of State copied it in *French* and *Portuguese*; and the letters were both sent to be presented to the Queen.

The Queen
desires to have
the mediation
of all in her
hands.

XV. However, before these things could be perfected, though the Secretary was secretly in town, and little time on his part was lost, yet the Queen discovered a new resolution; which was to become mediator of the grand quarrel, wherein the Conde still appeared to be a party, notwithstanding the King's endeavours to call the cause his own.

And because the Queen, pretending to affect the honour of so great a work, shewed herself extremely passionate, and her servants much more, to have this business in her hands; it made the Conde suspect the worst, and for a time hang back, although before he was so earnest to engage and secure the Queen to him in this reconciliation, that he made offers to gratify her in several points; as first, in the procuring of her revenue to be farmed at a thousand pound a month: To have the jurisdiction of all her servants and affairs resigned to her: To give her a daily account of his proceedings: And to procure that her uncle the Bishop of *Laon*, should be the first Cardinal

The Conde
makes proposals
to gratify
and secure her.

Cardinal to be nominated by *Portugal*, when the Pope should admit their pretensions. He also promised to abandon a business, wherein, to the Queen's great disgust, he was engaged, which was this: His cousin german, one *Christopher de Almada*, having married a young heiress, did notwithstanding continue his amours to a scandalous wench; so that the mother of his wife being a woman of great extraction, and of a notable tongue, resorted often to the Queen with this complaint, and by the Queen's immediate order the wench was clapt into a convent. On the other side, this lady continuing in her widowhood, was herself also deeply entangled with one *Francisco de Saa*, one who had formerly been Secretary to the Marquis *de Sande* in *England*; and their familiarity was so notorious, whether for the practice itself, or for the difference in their qualities, that *Christopher de Almada* stirred up the Conde and all the rest of his relations, that for the honour of his wife, this lady might be also confined to a convent. But the Queen protecting her on the one side, and they as eagerly prosecuting on the other, the contention flew very high; and the rather because Monsieur *Verjeux* the Queen's French

S

Secretary

Secretary, being a great intimate with *Francisco de Saa*, (but whether as a Coadjutor I know not) did exasperate the Queen in this defence, and the pleadings would have lasted very long, if some great accident had not ended the strife. But this affair, in the bundle of other things, the Conde promised to sacrifice to her Majesty's good pleasure and pacification.

But for a time hangs back, fearing the worst.

The Queen gave a most favourable attention to these offers, and indeed appeared so much to overvalue them, that the Conde suspected her aim was at some other dangerous price of her mediation; and consequently he did for three days delay the matter, but yet under this pretext, that the King would not as yet be persuaded to it, by reason of that aversion the Queen had declared to him against the Conde.

Saturday, Sept. 10, The Conde de la Torre from the Infant, negotiates with a friend of the Conde's, but to no effect.

XVI. At this time, the Conde de la Torre, a principal actor on the Prince's side, had three or four secret meetings with one *Henrique Henriquez de Miranda*, a man whom the King kept in his bosom and an inseparable friend of the Conde, to whom were proposed several things, which, if they could be granted, it was said the Infant would acquiesce. But inasmuch as the Conde's separation

separation from the court, though but for a little time, and to save the Infant's honour, who had so peremptorily demanded it, was one of the articles, all this prattick immediately vanished, and the question returned to the former extremity, That either the Conde must leave the court, or the Infant forsake the kingdom. And indeed this declaration of the Infant's, was that weapon wherewith he cut all down before him, being assured, that whenever he put his foot into the styrupe, men, women and children would run out of their houses to prevent him, and in a publick mutiny destroy the Conde and all his works.

XVII. Wherefore, in answer to the Infant's last long letter of complaint, the Conde set his wits on work, and hoping by a sweet mixture and expression of his Majesty's love and authority together, he might assuage the Infant, and intimidate his party, he dictated for his Majesty the following letter.

" Much honoured and much beloved brother, Sunday, Sept.
 " I the King greet you well, as the 11. a letter
 " person whom I much love and esteem. from the King
 " I have seen the letter which you writ to the Infant
 " unto me of the 9th instant, and I have framed by the
 " always reason to esteem you for ac- Conde.
 S 2 " commo-

LETTERS of

“commodating yourself to my resolu-
 “tions, it appearing to me that you un-
 “derstand that those I take, are always
 “such as are most convenient for my-
 “self and for you: I love you as a son;
 “and if I had no other reason, that a-
 “lone were sufficient to make me covet
 “for you what is most for your advan-
 “tage. Upon the particulars which
 “you mention to me, I have already
 “given order to inform you, that I am
 “ready to do justice immediately, when
 “those evidences come to my sight which
 “are fit to proceed upon. And as to
 “the other part, touching your purpose
 “to retire, I would have you to ex-
 “change that resolution, and come unto
 “me, where you shall find my arms
 “opened to embrace you with that love,
 “which reason requires from one, who
 “values you as a brother, as a friend,
 “and as a son, being also successor of
 “these kingdoms, if God shall deny o-
 “thers to myself; and in defect of such,
 “I shall take much comfort, that God
 “permits you to be the person, in the
 “good time that he of divine wisdom
 “shall think fit.

“Given at *Lisbon*, Sept. 11, 1667.

Your loving brother,

The KING.”

XVIII.

XVIII. This letter had the approbation of the Counsellors, but not at the Council-board; for it was on *Sunday* sent about, to one by one at their houses, and so they all assented thereunto, which was doubted they would not have done, had they been together, where they might have judged the plaister too narrow for the wound, and that this would rather skin than cure. Nor was their jealousy without some grounds, inasmuch as the day before the Council being met to consider the Infant's late answer, some of the board came charged with chain-shot, and intended to declaim entirely to the Conde's disadvantage; which being discovered, the King himself put by that scene, by entering into the Council, and there telling them, "That the power of
" commanding in this kingdom, belong-
" ed unto him, and that he could do his
" business alone, and without their help
" and concurrence. But inasmuch as
" they were of his council, he would
" not have it said, that he commanded
" on his own head. However, that the
" sole authority was his, and that sword
" by his side should uphold it; and he
" expected that all those who had the
" honour to be his counsellors, would
" shew themselves firm and resolute."

The King
talks big to
his Council-
lors.

This harangue, though composed as well to menace as exhort, yet so surprised them all, shewing by the manner of its delivery how much it was his own, that those whom it touched most, had more wonder for his sufficiency, than trouble for their own reprehension. But as to the King's letter aforesaid, it gave the Infant little content; and though by the Conde several copies were dispersed abroad, to work upon the common approbation, and (as much as might be) to get the voice of the people, which by either side has been exceedingly courted on this occasion. Yet the Infant's friends so outcried the invalidity of this letter, whether as being penned by the Conde himself, or for skipping over the matter without any redress to the Infant's honour or complaint, that now the Conde thought it high time to fling his sheet-anchor abroad.

The common people strangely courted by either side.

Mond. Sept. 12.
The Conde flies to the Queen's mediation which is proposed from the Council and embraced by her.

XIX. Whereupon, not attending the Infant's formal answer, which was legible enough in the common air, he resolved to resign himself entirely to the mediation of the Queen; and to that end, his mother and some religious friends, beset the Queen with their tears, and with their prayers, moving her Majesty's pity to him, and to them all, in the most fervent

vent way of sacrifice and humiliation they were able: And so in consequence hereunto, at the Council held upon *Monday*, the King employed those three Commissioners employed before to the Infant, to wait the next day on the Queen, and to tell her Majesty, "That
 "he desired she might have the honour
 "of composing this great difference; but
 "withal, that she should take up the matter, as it then stood;" which was with his Majesty's declaration, how that the cause was his own, and that he could no ways consent to the Conde's departure. Thus was the Queen bounded in her negotiation, and these three Gentlemen ordered to pass and repass between her Majesty and the Infant. But on *Tuesday* morning before they had been with the Queen, the Infant's answer to the preceding letter came, and it was as follows:

"SIR,

XX. "Not being able to obtain from *Tuesday Sept.*
 "your Majesty, that my complaint be ^{13. The Infant's answer}
 "examined, and the new informations ^{to the King's}
 "thereof presented, when they are of a ^{last letter de-}
 "quality, which both your Majesty and ^{claring that he}
 "all the kingdom doth now understand, ^{would depart.}
 "I conclude from this resolution that

S 4

"your

“your Majesty intends wholly to stifle my
 “demands, and to deprive me of the li-
 “berty to repeat my desires; and there-
 “fore I pass to the kissing of your Ma-
 “jesty’s hands, for the honour done me
 “by your Majesty’s last letter, which
 “if I forbear to do in person, I hope
 “your Majesty will hold me sufficiently
 “excused. For while I observe a man
 “permitted in your Majesty’s palace, so
 “elated and puffed up with authority,
 “as to imagin the taking away my life,
 “and to signalize his own guilt and
 “conviction thereof to the world by an
 “apparent evasion of all scrutiny and
 “examination; I must needs conclude,
 “that for the Infant there is not any
 “place either safe or decent, even in
 “the house of his King and brother.
 “But be things as they will, I beseech
 “your Majesty to believe what I profess
 “from the sincerity of my thoughts,
 “that wherever I shall be, I shall vene-
 “rate your Majesty as my father, and
 “serve you as my King and master, and
 “always wish many years of life and
 “felicity to your royal person.

“*Lisbon, Sept.*

13, 1667.

The INFANT.”

XXI. The

XXI. The Conde saw plainly by this letter, that the seas were grown, and that a more than ordinary storm was at hand; and therefore casting about to make the best use of every cord, he desired me to wait upon the Queen, and to tell her Majesty the concern which the King of *England* had upon the last misunderstanding between the King and the Infant, and to use such words as might promote her Majesty's zeal in the appeasing of these present feuds; which would no less gratify the court of *England* than advantage this. I had that evening accordingly an audience from her Majesty; and having shaped my discourse the best I could to the intent aforesaid, she began to recount unto me the whole passage with the Secretary of State, and such a list of the Conde's harsh and unjust proceedings with her, that even then I suspected such a memory was no good sign in a mediator. I answered her Majesty, that she had now the most generous way of revenging those wrongs; which was of heaping her obligations upon the Conde, in this estate when he would be truly sensible of them. To which she said, that it was indeed the revenge she affected, and that she would now use all means to

The Conde desires Sir R. Southwell to go to the Queen and excite her zeal in the work.

to procure this quiet, and the repose of the court; and that if hitherto she had been long unactive, she hoped thereby to prevail the more on the Infant, by the opinion of being a more equal and impartial mediator: She added also, that she was glad I had instructions to proceed on an occasion of this nature; for that she did not yet know but it might be requisite for me to go unto the Infant and to handle some part of this business.

The people ready to mutiny at the news of the Infant's departure.

XXII. The forementioned letter of the Infant was no sooner received, than copies thereof were spread abroad among the people; and a report also that the Infant had prefixed the *Sunday* following for the day of his departure, giving order to his servants to make their preparations accordingly. Whereupon the people were so much disquieted, that their Tribune and representatives came both to the King and Queen, earnestly setting forth the mutinous temper of the people, (which was very true) and that, if the Infant's departure was not prevented, all would inevitably run into confusion. This alarm was very dolefully received at the court, and sounded little less than as the Conde's passing bell. The King sent unto the
Queen

Queen the letter aforesaid, as a part of the business which she had now taken on her account to manage: And though it was feared that the Infant, being so far advanced in his resolutions, would have put some civil excuse upon the Queen's mediation, yet when the commissioners came to offer it, he very complimentally accepted the same; which began to raise some sparks of hopes in the Conde's breast: But when the Queen sent again to return her thanks, and to desire that he would suspend all thoughts of his departure, till an expedient to his satisfaction were found out, he ordered the Commissioners to make answer, that he well understood the fashion in which her Majesty was bound up, and circumscribed in this business, and therefore she might not wonder to receive immediately his final determination, which was to depart, if the Conde did not. Upon this report her Majesty presently brought the matter to the question, and put it upon them, as Counsellors, to declare what they thought fit to be done, seeing the Infant was inexorable. Whereupon all of them voting the Conde's departure, she commands them to go to the King and tell him what they had declared necessary for

Wednesday Sept 14. The Queen finds the Infant inexorable, and so votes the Conde's departure

for the publick quiet. But the Marquiss *de Marialva*, and the Marquiss *de Sande* not daring to carry such warlike news to the King, *Ruy de Moura Telles* had it put upon him; for he had gained much confidence with the King by his extraordinary zeal to the Conde in this whole affair, and on the other side, he found it high time to offer incense to the Infant, being now under a great mortification: For when he once came with one of the messages, the Infant told him, "*Ruy de Moura*, I expected better things from one who bred me up in his arms, than now I find from you."

The King's
passion when
he heard that
declaration.

XXIII. When he came unto the King's presence with this dismal story, (for which little less preparations had been necessary than for a duel, and armour had been needful as well as patience) he found the truth of his measures, for as soon as the King heard that the Conde must depart, he drew out his dagger, and laid it about him with that fury, that no man in his presence was sure of his life. He cried out, and said he would die before the Conde should depart; and at last the Queen coming in to the outcries, and finding how little her presence or persuasions did allay the distraction

distraction and grief he was in, 'tis said she did then with some feeling dispatch her Confessor (an active *French* Jesuit) to bow the Infant in this extremity if possible; but the Confessor returned with so cold an answer, that the Conde *de Castelmelhor* himself was fain to be made the person, who on his knees, and by the violence of tears and entreaties, brought the King to give his consent. And when at last he did so, he fell most sensibly to the bemoaning of himself, saying His authority was fallen, that he could now expect nothing but ruin; and turning with these lamentations and tears to the Queen, he said, That now in her alone was all his consolation left.

XXIV. The Queen to compleat this *Thurs. Sept. 15.* work, sent some other messages to the Infant; whereof the substance was, to desire that his Highness would, by a writing under his royal hand, declare, that after the Conde should depart the city, not only his person but his honour should be secured; so that never more words were to be made, or should by his Highness be permitted to be made, in this matter; and that upon sight of such a letter, the Conde should forthwith depart, as not desiring any thing more than to lay himself at his Highness's

The Queen desires the Infant to secure the Conde by some writing.

ness's feet, and the better to resign himself to a more entire obedience, that he did for ever relinquish to be *Clerk of the Purity*, which was the office he held. The Infant hereunto returned great acknowledgments for the Queen's interposing her authority in his concern; and that according as she was pleased to command him, so he did by the inclosed letter put the Conde out of all danger. Which letter was as followeth:

"MADAM,

The Infant's
letter to that
end.

"As soon as your Majesty thought fit
"to engage yourself in this concern, I
"held it my duty to obey your Majesty
"in all things you should please to com-
"mand: And now particularly to satisfy
"what your Majesty orders touching the
"security of the Conde's person and ho-
"nour, I do upon my faith promise
"your Majesty, not to attempt any thing
"to the prejudice of either; and in or-
"der hereunto, and that the Conde may
"be sensible how powerful your Maje-
"sty's mediation hath been, I am con-
"tent that my complaint be buried in
"perpetual silence, as if no such thing
"had ever been intended. God preserve
"your Majesty.

Sept. 15, 1667.

The INFANT.

XXV.

XXV. This letter was some time in framing, and did not come to the Queen until eleven a clock at night, though it was generally voiced before, that the Conde was in his agony, and must infallibly depart. I was with him this morning in his great room of audience, which was the station he kept all along without any day's intermission; and truly he appeared to bear all his afflictions with an exemplary temper, and comportment. I had a large discourse, which beginning with something of the good weather, he said that, "it was
" very fair, and perhaps efficacious a-
" gainst all distempers but that which he
" then laboured with." He told me
" he did not believe, that there was a
" country under the sun wherein envy
" so much reigned as in *Portugal*: And
" to confirm this, he related to me a
" story of a *Genoese* Earl, who being
" very powerful at *Madrid*, with the
" Conde *de Olivarez*, and the question
" being, how *Portugal* should be con-
" quered, he absolutely declared, from
" the experience he had of the nation,
" that it never could be done better than
" by leaving them in peace; in which
" estate they would infallibly pull out
" one another's throats." The Conde
went

went on and said, that, “ in other
“ countries, reconciliations begun at the
“ heart; that in this it began at the coun-
“ tenance, and never went any farther.
He added this observation, “ that the
“ malecontented persons of other coun-
“ tries usually breathed out their me-
“ lancholy abroad; but that *Portugal*
“ being hedged in with their enemies,
“ they had no vent for turbulent spirits,
“ and so the evil became contagious:
“ That, for the honour of his nation be-
“ it spoke, every man thought himself
“ sufficient to govern, only for being a
“ *Portuguese*; but he was very sorry to
“ foresee the confusion that would ensue
“ his overthrow; for that the tenderness
“ and inward necessities of the Kingdom
“ would not endure the handling which
“ was like to follow: That if a flame
“ should grow, he would willingly send
“ his tears to quench it; but never ha-
“ zard his hands again, where so many
“ fire-brands were to be touched: That
“ he knew the burthen and vexation of
“ his charge so well, that nothing but
“ the zeal he bore the King, whom he
“ as much as any man had helped in-
“ to the throne, did make him under-
“ go it so long: That there was not a
“ week that passed over his head, that
“ some

“ some one or other came not to advise
“ him of designs for taking away his
“ life; so that for his employment he
“ esteemed it at that rate, that, could he
“ but secure his life and honour, he
“ deeply vowed that he would not only
“ part with it, but bestow it willingly
“ to the greatest enemy he had in the
“ world.” And indeed he had told me
before, upon a day when things went
better in his favour, that, if this storm
should but appease, he would speedily
resign his employment; though he said
it was not fit to speak thereof, lest his
friends should disrelish it and quit him.

I also came to him in the evening,
and he discoursed with me, beginning
with a certain proverb they use, “ That
“ once in a thousand years all waters re-
“ turn to the place from whence they
“ came; and he in the like manner after
“ almost six years labour, and attend-
“ ance in this place, was now returning
“ to the privacy of his former life: He
“ heartily wished, that, since he was
“ made the *Jonah* for appeasing this
“ storm, the consequences might not
“ prove more pernicious than the causes:
“ That he knew not how far he might
“ be restrained from the publication of
“ his innocency, considering the power

T

“ he

" he had contended withall, and there-
 " fore he desired me to represent him to
 " his Majesty, my Lord Chancellor, and
 " my Lord *Arlington*, in such a cha-
 " racter, as might suspend any condem-
 " nation against him, till he were able
 " to write himself; which he would en-
 " deavour to obtain permission for, and,
 " were it not that the consideration of
 " wife and children ought to fix him in
 " the Kingdom, he would immediately
 " set sail for *England*, or some other
 " country.

He is called
 and receives
 the said letter
 from the
 Queen, and
 presently pre-
 pares for his
 departure,
 taking leave
 of all.

XXVI. At this time he did not know
 his departure was so near, but, as he was
 continuing his discourse, he was sud-
 denly called away to the King, telling
 me he would return immediately; yet
 he stay'd so long that I departed, it being
 nine a clock: Yet I was told how that
 a while after he returned back, and con-
 tinued there till eleven a clock; at which
 time the Marquis *de Sande* came to let
 him know, the Queen expected his com-
 ing to her. Thither he went with a par-
 ticular friend, and was within with her
 Majesty alone. She shewed him the
 aforesaid letter of the Infant's, and bid
 him keep it for his security; he did on
 his knees passionately desire her Majesty
 to take particular care of the King, and
 by

by endeavouring to humour him in some of his ways, prevail upon him in other the most essential things; and particularly that she would reduce his mind to some care of his concerns, which naturally he was prone to forget. And with words to this intent, and imploring her Majesty's protection to himself, he took his last farewell: And thence returning back to his great room, he did the like to several of his friends which yet remained there; and going from thence to his house, he set some things in order; and then coming to the King, he passed an hour with him alone, as was supposed, in matters of advice and instruction. But then breaking off with abundance of tears on either side, it was about two o'clock in the morning he took horse, with about twenty of the Life-guard, and rode strait to a place near *Torres Vedras* some seven leagues off; and in a day or two, for more security, retired himself into a small *Capuchin* Convent there adjoining.

XXVII. The next morning, the Queen Friday Sept. 16. with her own hand writ, in two or three sheets, to Monsieur *Verjeux* (her oracle) all the scene, how it had passed over night; and with much triumph and hopes concluded, that the Conde

seeing he must resign, had at last framed the King's spirit to a good temper towards her, and that now all the Government would naturally fall into her hands. But in a few hours after she changed this opinion, for the King coming to see her, made use only of some endearing words, bidding her mind her own ease and contentment, after so many vexations, and for her health sake, to think of nothing relating to business. And upon the neck of this, when the King withdrew, *Ruy de Moura Telles* was sent to acquaint her with the things which the King resolved to propose at a full Council of State, which was presently to meet; and that her Majesty need not give herself the trouble to be there.

The offices of
the Govern-
ment distri-
buted.

XXVIII. This put her Majesty to a strange plunge, crying out afresh against the Conde as a pernicious man, and one that was resolved to deceive her, even after his death. However she would not be kept from the Council, whither she went, and the matters there proposed were, First, That one *Gaspar Sanche de Faria* was declared Secretary of the Requests; next, That *Ruy de Moura Telles* and the Archbishop of *Braga* his relation (and both fast friends to the Conde) should

should be added to the committee of dispatch; which is a supreme committee that oversees, directs, and allows all things that are fit for the King's immediate signature, without consulting the whole Council of State; and of this rank were formerly the Marquiss *de Marialva*, *de Niza*, *de Govea*, and the Conde *de St. Lorenzo*, whose title herunto, though it always subsisted, yet their employment was forgotten, and in a manner buried in the absolute direction the Conde took upon him in all affairs, he being also one of the number. The King appointed also that the Marquiss *de Marialva* should superintend the affairs of the army; the Marquiss *de Niza* the affairs of the sea; and the Marquiss *de Sande* all foreign affairs. They proposed to the King the taking off the embargo, and the dismissing those guards that had, with so much terror to the people, and burthen to the men themselves, continued in ward so long, both night and day; there being above a thousand which had been in arms since the beginning. Yet his Majesty would consent to neither, until about a week after, and this day the King, to dispose the people unto quiet, did according to the advice

T 3

given

given him, shew himself at the window for about an hour.

Sunday, Sept.

17. The Mar-
quifs de Mari-
alva and Sande
come to fling
back their
charges.

The next day the Marquifs de *Mari-
alva* and the Marquifs de *Sande* came
to the Council. The first gave in a pa-
per of reasons why he would not take
upon him the charge of superintending
the army, grounding the chief obstruc-
tions, not only upon the present want
of money, but that all the revenues
were anticipated for almost two years,
and the soldiers were already for as
much time in arrears. He also added
that the offices of the revenue were in
great confusion; and that it would re-
quire a considerable time to reduce
things to their ancient order; in as
much as the Conde de *Castelmelbor* had
managed all things by particular ways
of his own. The Marquifs de *Sande*,
he declared against his charge, as being
exasperated that he was not made one
of the dispatch, (as had been promised
him,) where he might have an abso-
lute Vote with the rest to confirm the
things he should in particular transact.
However he afterwards at the Queen's
persuasion said, that he would accept
one part of that charge, which was to
answer publick letters, and give instruc-
tions to their own foreign ministers;
but

but he would have nothing to do with the trouble and concerns of particular strangers. He was exceedingly nettled, and so were many more, at the King's nominating those two persons aforesaid to the dispatch, they having been formerly, together with the other new Counsellor the Conde *de Valdoreyes*, all under suspicion of tampering with the *Spaniards*, and were imprisoned on that account; so that a general voice was spread, that, although the Conde were departed, and that as it were in a funeral sense, yet he still governed by his last will and testament.

XXIX. The Infant this day employed the Marquis, (after thanks for his manly appearance for him,) to tell his Majesty, that he desired to wait on him to kiss his hand. But the King refusing to see the Infant, all things had still the face of disorder; and the rather for that the King spoke of nothing so impatiently as of the Conde's speedy return; but herein the Queen used all her arts and persuasions to divert his thoughts from so unseasonable a resolution.

There began also to spread a report this day which took rise from the Infant's house; that the ill government and great disorder

The King refuses to see the Infant.

The People begin to desire the assembling of the

three estates in
order to a ge-
neral reforma-
tion.

disorder the kingdom was brought unto required the assistance of a parliament, which they here call *Cortes*, in order to a general reformation; and that more particularly for inspecting the state of the publick revenues, and calling delinquents to an account, the regulating the superfluous offices and abuses in the army, and the purging the court of rabble, who were so ignominious as not to deserve either to see or to be seen by a King. And this desire and rumour of *Cortes* spread exceedingly among the people; though a while after to temporise with the Queen, whom it seemed to displease, it was not from the Infant's side so earnestly abetted as at first proposed.

XXX. At this time the town was full of discourse concerning one *Henrique Henriquez de Miranda*, one who was as dear to the King as the Conde himself, though upon a far different account, this being the principal minister of his vices; a man abominated by the people for the extortions and insolencies he committed on the score of his interest. Yet the Conde made great use of this man to fix and secure the King's spirit unto him, while he was at his business and out of sight; and this man made

made as great use of the Conde to pass his grants, and what the King bestowed upon him.

At the Conde's departure this person took so strange a dismay, that all his spirits were seized and he could hardly breathe. The doctors thrust into him three purges and thrice as many glisters, with which he only (like a dead man) swelled, but no other execution, so that the church came to give him their solemnities of a last farewell. However before he could find the way to die out-right, there came a *German* Chymist, who with his drops cleared all before him and so put the wight upon his legs again. He was, during this metamorphosis, thronged with visits of all sorts from the King, and so downwards. The Infant's party, especially, who knew his ascendant over the King, and thought to make use of him to conduct matters unto that condition which they had proposed, seemed kindest unto him; and accordingly he laboured therein by passing from one side to the other. Yet he so far failed of contenting them, that, had he gone home in his own litter, he had been murdered by seven persons which set upon it; but having notice thereof, as also of another

Henrique Henriquez, his
founding fit,
recovery and
flight.

other design which followed some days after, he rose up in the night and fled from his house, where presently after it was beset with forty horse, six of the riders mounting in vizards to search him in every corner; but he was gone out of their reach, and they departed without meddling with any other thing.

Sunday, Sept.

18. The danger of a tumult by the King's refusing to see the Infant.

XXXI. The *Imiz de povo* (whom I may call the tribune of the people,) and his members came to the King to declare the disquiet of the people at the news of his Majesty's refusing the Infant audience, which they very earnestly importuned his Majesty to consent unto. But the King, who had been told how much these common people had contributed to the discarding of the Conde, fell into a rage with them, called them cuckolds and a great many injurious names; which did his Majesty much harm in discontenting and imbittering the people against him.

The King abuses the Tribune and his brethren.

Monday, Sept.

19. The King consents to see his brother.

On *Monday*, by the great persuasion which all sides had used to the King, he consented to admit the Infant to his presence; which yet he did not, but on the conditions following: That he should come to him by a back way thinly attended; and enter his chamber alone without speaking one word unto him;

for (said he) if he calls to my memory the things that are passed, I shall never forbear the doing of him some mischief. So this visit was performed on the terms and silence aforementioned; all passing afterwards into the Council, where the Infant desired that the guards might be discharged from the heavy duty they underwent, and the embargo taken off; both which were ordered accordingly; but the last not executed until several days after. When the Council broke up, the Infant went to wait upon the Queen; and after a short visit returned back to the King to repeat the mute circumstances aforesaid. This point of returning to the King being (it seems) the caution and style of this court, either for shewing how short the visit lasteth with the Queen, or that his Majesty must appear the beginning and ending of all visits made unto the court.

The extraordinary guards and embargo are taken off.

XXXII. On *Thursday* the King returns again unto his former resentments, and refuseth to admit the Infant to his presence, and sends several messages to the Queen to represent unto her, how all business was in confusion for want of a secretary to give dispatch; and therefore desired that she would consent

Thursday, Sept. 22. The King again angry with the Infant and calls for the Secretary of State.

sent to the return of *Antonio de Souza*; but her Majesty highly protested against any such thing, declaring that, should he ever return again, she would make an outcry that all *Portugal* should hear of.

Monday, Sept.
26.

New guards
are set and
great danger
of a tumult.

On *Monday* the council of state meeting, and the Queen being there present, she sent a message to the Infant desiring his appearance there; which the Infant was once disposed unto, but taking new thoughts returned answer, that it being the King who had forbid him the court, he knew not how he might presume to come thither without particular licence from his Majesty. This night several new guards were again dispersed up and down the city, and all persons were in great apprehensions of a tumult; especially the rich men and merchants, who had already armed their houses, and made their compacts to live and die together: Nor were the soldiers and loose people less mindful of their concern, having made their preparations of hachets, chisels and crows of iron, for the better conduct and dispatch of such a work.

About this time several religious men, especially of the Jesuits, whether to ingratiate with the Infant, or really to dispose

dispose things to good order, gave the King very round and earnest exhortations; and took upon them with all the freedom of their habit, to conjure him to a better conformity with his brother.

XXXIII. Now is the Marquiss *de Marialva* induced to undertake the care of the army, as was before recommended unto him; but it is on the condition, that, for the finding out ways to raise money, the Duke *de Cardaval*, the Marquiss *de Niza*, the Marquiss *de Sande*, and the Vice-Conde *de Ponte de Lima*, be joyned in commission with him. Which being accordingly allowed, and settled by commission, they chose for their secretary a great reprobate, *Lewis Mendez de Elvaz* a suspected Jew; one who was the Conde's great engineer for the scenting out of money, whom the people would have also routed, had not his usefulness on this occasion reprieved him.

XXXIV. But now on *Wednesday* the 28th began a new and extraordinary scene; for the King would no longer endure the absence of his secretary *Antonio de Souza*; and therefore being in Council, he called for that order, which had stated the difference between the Queen

A Committee appointed to raise money.

Wednesday, Sept. 28. The King will have the Secretary return and sends such positive word to the Queen; and that she may see by the order of

Council that he was suspended but for a time, he sends the original by the Marquiss de Sande.

The order of Council formerly passed August, 31.

Queen and the Secretary, appointing the manner of his retirement; which order or determination was as followeth.

“ The discourse which the Secretary
 “ of state *Antonio de Souza de Macedo*
 “ held with the Queen our Mistress,
 “ (as by his paper is made out) was
 “ represented unto us the ministers here
 “ underwritten. And seeing her Majesty
 “ doth affirm that the Secretary forgot
 “ all respect unto her; it seems fit
 “ that, however the Secretary hath made
 “ it apparent that the Queen our Mistress
 “ did misapprehend him, and that
 “ his zeal was only to persuade her Majesty,
 “ that the *Portugal* nation sought
 “ to venerate her, and not to treat her
 “ as in the said paper is expressed; yet
 “ his Majesty ought to command the
 “ Secretary of state to retire from the
 “ court for the space of ten or twelve
 “ days; and that in the mean time *Antonio Cabido*
 “ be sent for to serve in his office. And we judge convenient,
 “ that his Majesty acquaint the Queen,
 “ that he only does this to give her
 “ content; and that she forbear to engage
 “ herself in like matters for the evil
 “ consequences that may result from
 “ them, as well to the present as to the
 “ future state of things.

Lisbon, August, 31, 1667.”

With

With this paper the King commanded the Marquis *de Sande* to go unto the Queen, to shew her the original order, and that accordingly the Secretary should come, whether she would or would not. But the Marquis, who had amongst half a dozen others signed this order, considering the bitterness of it towards the Queen, and how at present the face of things were changed, struggled very much to shift off this message. But the King perceiving his averfeness, did with a Hah (like one of *Henry* the VIII's) frighten him into a speedy compliance; so that he approached the Queen with as much courage as could possibly be called up for such an occasion. Her Majesty perused the paper, and it nettled her exceedingly; and the Marquis got not off without some of the scratches he feared; yet notwithstanding her anger, she returned the King this answer; that though she could never consent to the Secretary's return, yet that the King was master, and might do what he thought fit.

XXXV. About noon the very same day, the Secretary came to the court; and at night began to dispatch business. But the Queen's cabinet Council Monsieur

The Secretary
returns to the
Court.

The Queen incensed afresh against the Conde.

sieur *Verjeux* her confessor, and the Abbot *de St. Romain*, when they came to sit upon the consideration of the order aforesaid, did infuse so much new rage and fire into the Queen, as that she was upon the point of passing the last sentence on the Conde, (though under protection and in his retirement,) as the wicked author of all; and the Conde had notice of some such thing, which made him bethink of his defence accordingly.

XXXVI. But the said juncto inclining afterwards to softer resolutions, they fell to the framing of two papers; the one a most rough and reproaching letter unto the Conde for his forgeing of the order aforementioned; and to make this reprehension cut the more, her *Portugueze* Secretary *Pedro de Almeida* the Conde's creature, and one whom she therefore detested, was called for, and ordered to make known her pleasure to the Conde, according to the contents of a paper she delivered him to write *verbatim* by the other paper which they framed, (to which they had the assistance of a notable incensed *Portugueze* of the Infant's side,) was a memorial to the King against *Antonio de Souza*, Which was as followeth.

S I R,

S I R,

Saturday,
Sept. 31.

“ I could not sooner represent unto
“ your Majesty and the Council of
“ state the just cause of my resentment,
“ and the strange occasion of my pre-
“ sent complaint; because hitherto a cer-
“ tain resolution taken at the Council-
“ table was artificially concealed from
“ me. But the confusion I am in hav-
“ ing seen it, obliges me to lay down
“ before your Majesty the grief and
“ perplexity of my mind; inasmuch
“ as conscience, honour, and justice,
“ my reason and truth itself calls for
“ no less.

The Queen's
memorial,
which the
King not suf-
fering to be
read in Coun-
cil, she deliver-
ed copies to all
in particular
next day, and
had infinite
copies dispers-
ed abroad.

“ Sir, upon this resolution of Coun-
“ cil, which is now come to light, I
“ complain to your Majesty, with the
“ confidence of a Queen, with the hu-
“ mility of a vassal, and with the ju-
“ stice of a private person; and that
“ against the perfidiousness of *Antonio*
“ *de Souza de Macedo*, one who hath
“ dared to calumniate me, and so far
“ impose on the Council of State as
“ there to aver that I spoke against all the
“ *Portuguese* nation in general, whilst
“ yet he knew very well and I here
“ declare it to your Majesty, (on the
“ faith and word of a Queen,) that I

U

“ spoke

“ spoke unto him very distinctly of the
“ resentment and concern which all the
“ said nation had against his own pro-
“ ceedings, and those of two or three
“ of his friends for treating me un-
“ worthily. It is wonderful to me,
“ that this man should ever hope by a
“ falsity so improbable, by a calumny
“ so notorious, to gain such an injurious
“ resolution from the Council of State
“ against a Queen; for it is certain that
“ I have not more feeling for those
“ cordial demonstrations of love, res-
“ pect, and compassion, which on all
“ occasions I have found amongst the
“ *Portugueze*, (whom I love and esteem
“ as my children,) than I am convin-
“ ced of the wickedness and tyranny,
“ wherewith those two or three men
“ perplexed me, and made me of ne-
“ cessity consider them as my capital
“ enemies. Upon the whole, after hav-
“ ing declared and protested, as now
“ again I do, that I will never endure
“ to speak to *Antonio de Souza de*
“ *Macedo*, nor see such a fellow, who
“ by a false witness hath gained, to my
“ dishonour, a resolution of Council so
“ detestable and scandalous, stuffed with
“ nothing else but reprehensions and me-
“ naces, I prostrate myself at your Ma-
“ jesty's

“ jesty’s royal feet, and humbly entreat
 “ in vindication of my truth, and sa-
 “ tisfaction of my complaint, that your
 “ Majesty would command this *Antonio*
 “ *de Souza de Macedo* to be tried and
 “ punished, according as the laws ap-
 “ point with offenders against regality.
 “ That in the first place he beg par-
 “ don, and declare the falsity of what
 “ he alledged in the Council of State,
 “ where he offended against God, your
 “ Majesty, the Counsellors whom he
 “ deceived, against justice and against
 “ truth, by his several malicious lyes,
 “ amounting to no less than treason and
 “ rebellion; and that this beginning of
 “ satisfaction be registred in the Coun-
 “ cil books in place of the said per-
 “ nicious determination.

“ Sir, I beseech you give order that
 “ the heinousness of this crime be con-
 “ sidered, for if any particular person
 “ abused in good name fails not of great
 “ reparation, how much ought the ho-
 “ nour of a Queen to be restored, she
 “ who is inseparable from your Maje-
 “ sty, and your sovereign authority: Ju-
 “ stice, Sir, I desire, and that for your
 “ Majesty’s sake, for my own, and for
 “ the sake of the Counsellors of State,
 “ who being cunningly circumvented set

" their hands to this order, a thing
 " which by right should not have pas-
 " sed against the least subject (how
 " much less against a Queen?) without
 " first the party being heard. It is true,
 " that violence and craft, combining
 " with power, produces such effects;
 " and as to them, this may serve to
 " extenuate the injustice of what hath
 " passed.

Lisbon, Sept.

30, 1667.

The QUEEN."

XXXVII. On *Saturday* when the
 Council met, the King was there; and
 the Queen being also present, she gave
 unto the King this paper that it might
 be read. But he knowing the design
 thereof graciously received it, and put
 it into his pocket; at which the Queen
 was not a little surprised, and therefore
 on the two next days following, she
 sent for the Counsellors apart, and de-
 livered to each of them a copy of her
 memorial; as in like manner she had
 before sent a copy thereof unto the In-
 fant, with hopes and confidence that his
 Highness and the rest would see her
 disaffronted. But on the *Saturday*, af-
 ter the Council ended, the King put-
 ting the memorial into the hands of

Antonio

Antonio de Souza, he having read it, came forth in an open rage, and meeting the Marquis *de Marialva* standing with much other company, he cried out *Treason, Treason*, saying that it was not fit to suffer in the kingdom two such traitors as the Queen's Confessor and Monsieur *de Verjeux*: And upon Sunday morning the alarm was so hot at Monsieur *de St Romain's*, where those accused Gentlemen were, that the whole house was for some hours put into warlike posture, intending to have endured the shock, in case the King had sent to apprehend them, as they did suspect.

The Secretary calling the Queen's Confessor and Monsieur *de Verjeux* two traitors, it put them in arms.

XXXVIII. The King was now in a very disquieted temper, and having before sent letters, now he sends out horses to bring back unto him *Henrique Henriquez de Miranda*, who had lately made his escape, as before I hinted, and seeing how the servants which were most dear unto him, were put to their shifts, he enters into consultation with the Secretary and three or four more about him, concerning what were fittest to be done in order to prevent these things, and the worse that might ensue: And the better to strengthen the Council of this junctō, he sends for

Sunday, Oct. 1.
The King
consults to
march out
with some
forces and to
secure the In-
fant, and take
off five of his
principal fol-
lowers.

one *Salvador Correa de Saa*, one of the Council of war, a notable old stickler, that formerly had recovered *Angola* from the *Hollanders*, and now had shewed himself partial for the Conde. This Juncto voted roundly that his Majesty should, with the four regiments that were in town, withdraw himself to *Alcantara* half a league from this city; that he should by amiable ways, first treat the Infant and then secure him; and for the principal abettors, to pick them up, and by a short expedient put them out of harm's way.

The roughness of this determination is chiefly fastned upon the said *Salvador*, yet he himself affirms that he gave milder advice. However thus far it proceeded, in concurrence with the premises, that a very endearing letter was presently writ to the Infant; who according to the invitation thereof coming the next day to the court, the King and he embraced each other, and, as is said, with some tears on either side. The same day also did the King speak to the Marquis *de Marialva*, bidding him as his General, to put on coloured cloaths, and to draw down with him the forces of *Lisbon* unto *Alcantara*, for that he had

had a mind to go there, and would have the soldiers with him. But the Marquis soon penetrating the intention, told him roundly that such a course was the way to destroy himself, and in three days to make all people lose their respect unto him and his authority; that if he was displeased with a few Gentlemen followers of the Infant, he might more easily pick them up, and use his pleasure upon them, than by putting himself into this hostile posture. However, as to his journey to *Alcantara*, if he pleased to go thither in recreation, he would wait upon him; which accordingly he did; but the King returned that night, and being still unsatisfied, entred again into consultation with the Juncto aforesaid, and there it was determined, that seeing the former inventions were diverted, yet the security of some ring-leaders about the Infant was indispensable; and therefore a decree was drawn up and signed by the King for apprehending the Conde de *Villafior*, who had been General at the beating of Dom *Juan de Austria*, *Francisco Barrette* who recovered *Brazil* from the *Hollanders*, *Gilvas Lobo* the *Portugal Hercules* and two others, which were the Conde da *Torre* Gen-

tleman of the bed-chamber, and Dom Rodrigo de Menezes Gentleman of the horse, both of them of the Infant's cabinet Council; and four of them being of the King's Council of war had orders sent them to meet early on *Wednesday* morning to consult on some business of his Majesty's at the palace, though indeed the intent was no other than to facilitate hereby the apprehending of them. But they, the night preceeding this intended execution, getting intelligence of the design presently communicated it to the Infant; whose direction was that they should go to the court according to their orders, yet that he

The Secretary of State's unhappy like at Court and his opinion of the *French* league, and the treaty from *Spain* formerly rejected.

would come in person to their rescue. But here it may not be unfit to mention, how that the Secretary of State, from the time of his late return to the court, neither night or day stirred from the palace; but there continued in a room shut up with half a dozen servants at the door, letting in none unto him but friends; where amongst others a stranger of my acquaintance going to him to condole his uneasy condition, he began, as he was wont, to discourse unto him in *French*: "No, says the Secretary, never speak to me in that language, which I am resolved never to use more. We have committed (saith he)

" a no-

“ a notorious folly in making a league
 “ with those people; our true interest had
 “ been to accept of the terms from *Spain*
 “ which *England* procured us, and that
 “ we must do at last, as the only remedy
 “ to settle us.” Nor was the Queen less
 impatient that the Secretary should be
 kept in the palace in spite of all her
 complaints, besides his exclaiming in
 such a distracted manner against her
 Confessor and Secretary, as I have al-
 ready said: Wherefore she did by se-
 veral messages excite the Infant to come
 unto the palace, and by violence to have
 him pulled out. But the Infant was so
 tender, that he put it off with divers
 excuses, and would not have thought
 upon such a thing, had not the other
 accident jumped in time, about rescuing
 his principal friends and followers; the
 manner whereof was as followeth.

XXXIX. These persons, according to
 the orders sent them from the King,
 meet at the Court on *Wednesday* morn-
 ing; but were attended with such a train
 of officers and soldiers, their antient ac-
 quaintance, who dispersed themselves
 here and there, but none of them out
 of call, that the officers of justice at-
 tending their coming, sent presently ad-
 vice hereof unto the King, and had
 their

Wednesday,
Oct. 4.

The Infant comes with a numerous train to the Court; the King in a rage.

their orders countermanded. But in a short time, and about nine of the clock, the Infant came hastily to Court, attended with a numerous train; which, joyning with those already there, made at least three or four hundred persons, and most of them in private very well fitted with arms. By accident I was that morning at the Court, and had the opportunity to observe all that past without the King's chamber; and among the throng which attended the Infant, I saw the Tribune of the people, who had, it seems, been warned to be present. The Infant attended for some time in the antichamber, the King not being out of his bed; but at last he got up, and, while he dressed himself, the Infant was admitted in, and all the Counsellors of State as they came. But the King was highly incensed at this resort, and in very bad humour told the Infant, "that he well understood what he came about, but that however he should not carry his point." And from one thing to another, he grew so exceedingly passionate, that he called for a sword. Whereas the Infant pulling out his own, laid it at his Majesty's feet, saying, "that he was so far from any disrespect to his Majesty, that he might use

“ use his own sword against him, if his Majesty thought to the contrary;” and further added, “ that he only came thither to vindicate the Queen, to declare how wicked a man the Secretary of State was, and how fit to be thrown out of his Majesty’s service.” But the King with great fury exclaimed at this discourse, and cried out that he was sure they had murdered his Secretary; and nothing could appease his jealousy, till the Duke *de Cadaval* undertook to conduct the Secretary immediately unto his Majesty’s presence. So the Duke coming forth into the throng, and it being voiced, that he was going for *Antonio de Souza de Macedo*, every one imagined it had been to bring him to his final condemnation; and, I believe, the poor man himself thought no less, for when he had unlocked his door unto the Duke, and the Duke returned with him through the press, I never beheld any man so much amazed, and, as it were, insensible of any thing that was before him. Nor indeed was it without reason; for had not the authority of the Duke’s presence been his guard, there was not one in ten of the standers by, but looked on him with less indignation than would have served to toss him

him

him out of the window; and even some ill words to that effect were not forbore as he passed. But the King, when he came before him, raised up his spirits, telling them all that *Antonio de Souza* was a good servant; and that he would protect him against all contradiction. A while after this the Queen came into the King's dressing room; which being unusual, and he not expecting her, was very much startled thereat; and asking her roughly what occasion called her there so early, she said, (putting on all the pleasantness she could,) "that hearing there was a noise in the Court, she came to assist his Majesty." He replied, "Madam, if it be for that, you come too late; I rather think that your coming here is to see the Infant." In short the King gave no better answers during this whole entertainment; and had not the Queen, the Infant, and the rest of the Counsellors, each in their turns, abated the edge of every thing his Majesty said, with sometimes soft, and sometimes facetious answers, (as it seems before they had resolved to do,) nothing could have prevented some grievous outrage between them.

XL. The Marquis *de Marialva* did so much fear, that the rumour of these disputes

disputes and clamours should fly into the town, and bring a mutiny about the Court, that at his entreaties the King, Queen and Infant, went and shewed themselves at the windows a little before noon. Now the Infant's resolution being this day to purge the Court, not only of the Secretary but of four or five others who had advised the King to seize his friends, (the Gentlemen aforementioned,) and if this could not be otherwise effected, to dispatch them, even there in the Court, according to the instructions and posts allotted to several persons to this effect; the Marquis *de Marialva*, foreseeing how inevitably a tumult would follow hereupon, and how boundless the rage of such a thing would prove, altered the Prince's mind as to the execution intended for that day; yet however his Highness was resolved to persist in the chase of *Antonio de Souza*; for this was the Queen's concern, and would appear to be the only business he had at Court. But it being observed with what passion the King did precipitate himself in the defence of his Secretary, and, on the other side, how positively the Infant had demanded him, and declared that he would not leave the Court without procuring

curing this justice; some of the very persons that had like to have borne the brunt of the day, being deterred at these extremities, went to the King who was then retired to his dinner, (though for rage he would eat nothing,) and used the power they had with him to persuade his Majesty to let *Antonio de Souza* of his own accord to retire for a day or two, and he might come back again when his Majesty thought fit. So they shuffled over this business, as if his Majesty had promised to connive thereat; and then more formally they fell to the entreating his Majesty, that he would receive all those who were without to kiss his hands, that they might be dismissed, and by that mark to pardon also those Gentlemen who were ordered to have been seized. Unto this his Majesty gave free consent, and the Infant being acquainted therewith, thought fit to acquiesce, inasmuch as they pawned their lives unto him, that *Antonio de Souza* should that night depart. But when those Gentlemen who should have been seized, heard talk of a pardon, they very haughtily rejected any such thing; and when with the rest they kissed the King's hand, they told him plainly that they did it not for

for pardon, being guilty of no offence but in hopes that his Majesty would reward their good services, which they had done both to him and their country. But this contentious scene enduring till about three of the clock, and some news thereof being dispersed in the town, there were in several streets people gathered together, the shops were shut up, and with about three or four hundred with their naked swords came running towards the palace. Whereupon the Marquis *de Marialva*, who had taken all the care imaginable to quiet things abroad, and was as industrious to contribute to it also in the Court, immediately persuaded his Majesty, the Queen, and the Infant to appear again at the windows; which as soon as they did the croud that were below gave them all *Viva's*, and so dispersed themselves every man to his house; whereby this formidable beginning of a storm was happily blown over. A while after the Infant and all the Council took their leaves of his Majesty, and at night *Antonio de Souza*, trusting not so much to the guards he had with him, as to the darkness, made his retreat and has not been heard of since.

A tumult gathering, but happily dispersed.

The Secretary flies from the Court.

But

Tuesday Oct. 5.
The King
sends to find
him out, but
in vain.

But the next day the King had so much forgot any consent of his to the Secretaries departure, that as soon as he awoke, he called earnestly for him; and being told that he was like a cowardly fellow run away, as not trusting to his Majesty's protection, he grew as impatient to have him found out in order to his punishment; and whether it were by being thus seduced, or out of a better opinion for him, but he sent an hundred ways to find him out; which caused the Infant then coming to the Court in private, to forbear his visit, upon information that his Majesty's passion was again renewed.

The liberality
of the Infant
to the *Irish*
Friars, and his
words unto
them.

XLI. But it is not fit to pass over the generous proceedings of his Highness, which now began towards several degrees of people; particularly there is a fraternity of *Irish* Dominicans in this place; for whom one of their order, Father *Daly* Confessor to the late Queen and a man of great influence in this kingdom, had laid the foundation of a convent just in front to the Infant's palace; and they had, by great contentions of law and opposition to his Highness, raised up their work. This morning the chief of them, being sent for to the Infant's palace by a Gentleman of

of his bedchamber, he was told, much contrary to the fear and trembling he carried with him, that the Infant, seeing how their work was at a stop for want of wood, did bestow upon them that heap of timber, which laid before his palace. For which when the Friar made his harangue to the Infant, and did not spare to extoll his renowned undertakings, the Infant with great seriousness desired him and his society to recommend the good of the kingdom in their prayers to God Almighty. This I had from the Friar himself, who also told me, that a convent of Nuns desiring from his Highness the continuation of a favour but for one year longer, he granted the same for twenty years.

After this expedition at the court, there now resorts to the palace of his Highness, several persons of the best degree; particularly to kiss his hand, and to acknowledge his gallantry and zeal in chasing away the evil instruments from about the King. But when among them any came to submit that had been noted for advisers to the other side, they were sent off with this answer, That his Highness was a subject as well as they, and if they desired to kiss any body's

X

hand,

hand, they might go and kiss the King's. Some of the Infant's friends that had money do now open their purses to him, and furnished several sums, part of which, being five thousand crusadoes (eight hundred and fifty pounds sterling)

Friday, Oct. 7.
His donatives
to the Soldiers.

he this day distributes as a donative among four regiments of foot; and the next day two thousand crusadoes to the King's own Guards, as well of foot as of horse; though the Captain of the troop of the *Valentes*, fought a duel with the Infant's servant, who dispersed the money, having not acquainted him therewith; for he would have refused to take any thing, but from the King himself.

Sunday, Oct. 9.
Two of the
King's partiality
set upon
and ill treated.

XLII. On Sunday night, *Salvador Correa de Saa*, whom I have before mentioned, and one *Ruy Fernandez de Almada* President of the Senate or Common-Council of this city, having been late at court, and both very familiar with the King, (this latter upon the score of being cousin-german to and intimate with the Conde) they thought it time to draw homewards, and being neighbours they put themselves together in one of their coaches; but in the way, (and so near my own window that I heard all the noise of that encounter) they

they were met with by half a dozen horsemen in vizards, who by chance did no execution on them by the pistols fired; nor had *Salvador* from their swords much more harm than a bloody nose; but *Ruy Fernandez* had several wounds; and both of them escaped much the better having the darkness for their sanctuary. But these Gentlemen being very odious to the People, were more laughed at for their misfortune than pitied; and a story was presently raised, that each the next day complained to their visitants of what an unhappy thing it was to be found in ill company, neither of them believing but that they suffered for the enmity of the People against the other. However *Salvador* liking none of this jesting, is since turned Jesuit in his old age, after great exploits abroad in the *Indies*, and having crossed the line twenty and seven times. *Ruy Fernandez* lies sick of his wounds; yet great visits have been made him, according to the style of *Portugal*, where he that over night gave the blow, is the first the next morning to condole.

The great scene at the court upon *Wednesday* last, proved of that terror to several that were in the Infant's list, that they now knock off from the King's

Several of the
king's servants
terrified from
the court.

service, thinking it safer to retire into the country where there are no vizards. In the number of which is Dom *Simao de Sousa* brother to the Conde de *Castelmelhor*, and one *Manuel Antoonex* an obscure fellow, yet so gracious with the King as to have served in nature of his privy purse; and the King hath been so incensed for his absence, that nothing has been able to appease him. For though to turn the King's humour, and beget indignation against the man, it was reported that he run away with a thousand pistoles, yet the King dispatched away several messengers into *Alentejo* to find him out; but most are returned without success, there being a stronger party of vizards sent abroad to dispatch him, and it is not well known whether he be killed or escaped into *Spain*.

Here I may set down an accident which happened a week before, (on the third instant) when the Queen presented her memorial and was so highly incensed. The Conde de *Castelmelhor's* uncle, who was Great-Almoner of the kingdom, and General of his order of *St. Bernard*, though he were troubled with an ague, yet he came unto the Queen in hopes to mitigate or divert something of her violence against his nephew.

nephew. But after he had presented his humble remonstrance, the Queen took him up so severely for his errand, and dismissed him with so piercing a declaration against his nephew, that the old Friar getting home, his ague presently seized on him, and death itself within an hour after: So that although the Conde lost in this man the most considerable adviser of all his relations, yet the people could not let him depart without this censure, That he died of a disease which hardly ever killed any man else, and in such a manner (wanting time for confession) as never Friar died before.

XLIII. About the same time also the libels flew about against the Conde, more licentiously than is usual in this country. But what I observed as the burden of every song, was, an accusation against him for selling the peace of this kingdom, and preferring the league of *France*. And now the Conde, to give no more occasion to believe that by his orders all things were still governed because he was so near, he passes to *Pomball*, his own habitation about forty leagues from this place. I have since learned that his departure was by express command from the Infant, a Friar being sent to tell

him, That he was not secure in the place he was, while he continued to correspond with the court.

Satur. Oct. 22.

the Bull-feasts renewed, and the Conde de Valdoreyes chased by the King from his service.

XLIV. For some days things continued with the face of a calm; so that on the twenty-second instant the Bull-feasts were renewed again, that abroad it might be believed that things were in a bettering condition. But the day before, the King bringing home the Bulls, and the Conde de Valdoreyes being with him in the coach, he did on this frivolous occasion expell him from his service; The Conde seeing one of the horses sweat which past by, and belonged to a famous *Valente*, said for discourse sake, that it was for fear of the Bulls that the horse did sweat so much, But the King flew presently into a rage, and with most abusive names told him, That neither that horse nor any thing else that belonged to his rider knew what fear was. And calling for a pistol, would have shot him. The poor old Gentleman took this so much to heart, that he was carried home sick to his house. And indeed after this rate, more or less of all the servants about his Majesty are, as it comes to their turns, used by him; those only scape well, that totally deliver

ver him up to his own mind and Passions.

XLV. But there is another circumstance about his servants which must not be omitted; for the few that would, out of zeal to his authority, endure all his humours, but are suspected capable to give him direction or advice (as there were some four or five of such remaining) these have been by this extraordinary experiment of the opposite faction frightened from the court: For half a dozen men walking in vizards in the dead of night, have come to their houses, and there ringing a bell, would in a doleful tone, call the person by his name, and say, *Oh yes, we are so many Souls sent out of Purgatory to advise you, that the air of Lisbon is growing very infectious, and especially that of the court, and that if you do not immediately escape into the country, you will be our companions in Purgatory.*

But others that the King do-
ted on are
frightened
from him by
souls from
Purgatory.

The Parties concerned have made a serious use of these memento's, and though the generality have thought it only a theme for their laughter, yet the sober applauders of the Infant's undertakings, highly admire herein his prudence in proceeding rather by giving awe, than

drawing of blood, and they are confident that God will therefore bless his Highness the better.

Several papers come forth ripping up all the grievances of the kingdom and the oppression of the ministers.

XLVI. The people are now put on afresh from several parts of the kingdom, to complain of grievances and oppressions; and they send letters unto this place (where they were certainly first framed) ripping up the lamentable estate of all things, and demanding, as the only sovereign remedy, the assembly of the three estates. Of these papers I have collected several, and will, as I have time, and my health permits, translate the same. Among others there is one of divers sheets, writ in the name, and on the behalf of the common people of this city, wherein there is not an ill humour during this King's whole government, that is not ripped up, and exposed with all aggravations and bitterness that a sharp pen could express. And these clamours and accusations being observed to prove very delicious to the common taste, and very natural to the genius now predominant for a change:

The common people of *Lisbon* give a remonstrance to the Senate, of their condition and press to obtain Cortes.

The Tribune and the representatives of the people have been put on to prepare, with great solemnity and subscription, a remonstrance to the Senate or Common-Council of *Lisbon*, setting forth the unavoidable

avoidable motives for calling of the Cortes, and pressing them as the body, who for their consideration in the kingdom, and nearness of approach to his Majesty, ought immediately to wait on the King, and desire him to issue his writs to that effect.

XLVII. The Senate have accordingly made application to his Majesty, laying before him all that the people had subscribed unto, and presented them with: The Senate of Lisbon importune the King for Cortes, but in vain. They have been very instant in the demand accordingly. But the King with extream aversion hath rejected their request, and dismissed them with an utter declaration against admitting any such thing. And in reproach of their demand he would not spare to say *Cortes, Cornos*, which nettled their worships exceedingly when it came to their ears. But they for all this have not desisted their prosecutions; for unto all the places of the kingdom which were wont to send Procurators to the Parliament (which places are about seventy in number) they have sent letters, inciting them all to call upon his Majesty with the same instance they had done, as the only means left for the good of the people, and restoration of the state.

XLVIII.

Sunday Oct. 30.

The King looking upon his own miserable condition, resolves to fly away, but is prevented.

XLVIII. This distressed King, wanting conduct to do any thing for himself, and yet not the sense to see the misery he is in, observing on the one hand how all his servants are chased and spirited away, who had the heart to serve him; and how he is betrayed and undermined by most of those that are left about him: And that on the other hand, by the universal acclamations of all, his brother prevails on him as he thinks fit; how that the Queen has so strangely contributed to the bringing all these things to pass, that now it was grown the common voice that the Queen and Infant concurred in all things, and that his marriage should be declared null, and his wife made over to his brother; and that the assembling of the Cortes was in a principal measure unto this end. These things put many confused thoughts into him, and according to his own broken and shattered understanding, and the intervals of sense and fury that he is endowed withal, sometimes he thought of flying from the Kingdom and going for *England*; sometimes, that he would find out the *Conde de Castelmelhor* and live with him; then, that he would go to the frontiers and put himself at the head of his army. But whether to answer one of

of these ends, or to do something he knew not what, he does on *Sunday* the thirtieth instant put himself in the evening twice in a litter, intending once to go out at one gate, and then out of another; and since that endeavoured in a common boat to pass the *Tagus*, and go towards the frontiers. But as he was diverted from the first resolution by being informed, that the Infant had at least two hundred persons, and most of them on horseback, and was himself also mounted with resolution to oppose his Majesty's departure (which was very true) his Highness being this and some other nights this week on horseback with his followers and parties abroad in all the highways; so was his Majesty stopped in the latter, there being boats in the river which prevented his Majesty's going over. Notwithstanding all this, so great a fortune, and so happy a star attends the Infant's actions at this present, that nobody can call this violence, or so much as a generous imprisoning his Majesty, but on the contrary the voice is spread, of how distracted a man the King shews himself to be, and how at the same that he would tear the crown from his own head, the good Infant is the

the man that with both hands keeps it fast on.

The people begin to say they will have Cortes, whether the King will or no.

XLIX. The King's continued aversion against Cortes, puts the people upon various forms of discourse, using a sort of menace, that they will have them whether he will or no. The voice being spread that there are not only precedents amongst the records here in the tower, that justify the assembling of the Parliament every three years, but in the late King's time, at the last assembly of the three estates, he consented, that if he called not Cortes, there might be a Provincial Assembly triennially, that is, a lesser number of Deputies meet of themselves, if he should omit to call them by his own particular Warrants.

Thursd Nov. 3.
Sir R. Southwell delivers to the King, Queen and Infant the letters from the Duke of York about the death of his children.

On *Thursday* the third instant, I did, after various importunities before to that effect, obtain a short audience of his Majesty, and delivered the letters I had from his Royal Highness, communicating the death of the Duke of *Cambridge*, and the Duke of *Kendall*; and the same night I delivered those which were for the Queen, whom I found in a sprightly, gay humour, without the least cloud or memory that any thing went amiss. The next day I also waited on the Infant, who after receipt of the letters

ters fell to some other expressions of the kindness he had for myself, and affection for the whole nation, whom he would serve in all things within his power. I did not expect other than a very grateful reception from him, inasmuch as all who had been with his Highness cried up the extraordinary civilities he used. And indeed it was wondered by all his followers and many others, why I did not come to him sooner, and with those acclamations which others did. But for my own part because I saw not any publick character given him by the King for the dispatch of business, and that the concourse there was upon a high strain of popularity, and for particular ends which no ways concerned me to mix withal, I therefore restrained till now that the delivery of the said letters gave me a just occasion for it.

L. About this time the people grow so clamorous and importunate for the assembling of Cortes, that they do not only in their speeches, but in their papers declare, that they will pay no more taxes to the King, if he shall persist in refusal of so just and universal a demand. Whereupon the King being made sensible not only of the terror, but other dangerous consequences of such a declaration

the people
begin to
they will
Cortes, who
the King
will or no

The people
threaten that
unless they
may have Cor-
tes they will
pay no more
taxes.

November 8.
The Marquis
de Sande advises
the King.

claration; he desired the Marquis *de Sande* to give him his advice, as well in this as the other points of his present condition; which accordingly the Marquis hath done in a paper, which is much applauded by the Infant's friends, but of very hard, if not impossible digestion to the King. For he tells his Majesty under the penalty of his ruin, that he must, First, lie more frequently with the Queen: Secondly, that he must trust the management of all his affairs to the Infant: Thirdly, that he must consent to the calling of Cortes; and lastly, agree that those that have handled the money in his government be called upon to give an account thereof. I join this paper with the rest, but have not at present time to translate it.

Monday, Nov.
14. the Council
of State all
advise the
King to call
Cortes, which
at last he con-
sents unto.

The King being no longer able to endure the vexation, as well of formal as of particular addresses to him about this business of Cortes, does therefore on the fourteenth instant command a full meeting of the Council of State, where the Queen and Infant were also present; and there upon the question it is voted by all, that it highly imported his Majesty to consent to the calling of Cortes, as a remedy indispensable for the present state of things. Upon which his Majesty

Jefty is at last induced to consent thereunto, and yet the very same night he began to alter his mind; and the next morning to declare so much to the contrary to some of the chief of his Council, that they were fain to deal roundly with him, and did unanimously desire his permission to withdraw themselves from his service, seeing his Majesty made so little account of their advice. So at last they did by degrees reduce and fix him to an approbation of what had past the day before; and the writs are preparing to issue out according to the time assigned, which is for the first of *January* next, although the King pressed much that it might be deferred until the month of *February*.

This is a true relation of what hath passed unto this day.

Lisbon, Nov.

5th, 1667.

ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

Sir

LETTERS of

Sir Robert Southwell to Lord
Arlington.

MY LORD,

HAVING dispatched away unto your Lordship a large information of all the passages of this court unto the $\frac{5}{13}$ th instant, there are already broke out many of those events which my letter foretold your Lordship. For on Monday last the $\frac{11}{11}$ th instant the Queen retired herself into a convent amongst the Nuns of the *Esperance*, and telling her Chamberlain the Conde de Santa Cruz that she was resolved to fix there, she sent a message by him in writing to this effect: Tell his Majesty that my conscience will no longer permit me to cohabit with him, being neither his wife, nor he my husband; that both God and his Majesty himself know, that the condition I came to him in hath not been altered; and therefore I desire the restitution of my portion, that I may return back again into my native country. The King at the reading hereof, fell into great disorder, and hastening to the convent, demanded entrance, which the Abbess excusing, because the Queen had the keys, he

he presently ordered that carpenters should cut down the door. But before any thing was done, the Infant and a great train with him drove furiously to the place, and there his Highness and others dissuaded the King from using any violence, but rather to return home and advise with his Council on this affair. The King complied herewith, and exposing to his Council what the Queen had expressed in her message, he did at the same time affirm to the contrary, saying he had consummated marriage with her as his wife; and therefore demanded their speedy resolutions upon this case. What they in the generality concurred in, was, that his Majesty should submit to that examen which the laws of the church had provided in cases of this nature; the which advice his Majesty took very heinously, and remained altogether unsatisfied.

The next morning the Infant went to the grate to give her Majesty a visit. She refused the title of Queen, but desired his Highness to reinforce unto his Majesty, and to the Council of State the contents of what she had already declared; which he accordingly did, but with little operation upon the spirit of the King. The same afternoon the

Y Queen

LETTERS of

Queen writ a letter to the Canons and Vicar-General of the cathedral church, declaring that she was still a virgin, and that her marriage being in reality null, they should take notice of the same, and proceed therein according to the rules of their obligations. The letter she signed with her own name *Maria Francisca Isabella de Savoya*: And the Church-men (I hear) are preparing to determine roundly in this affair.

The next day being *Wednesday*, the Queen sent for all the Council of State, unto whom she discoursed at the grate, and peremptorily declared the nullity of her marriage, which she thought lay as an obligation upon her in justice to the kingdom to do; referring unto their wisdom to make such use of that information as they thought convenient. Whereupon they all returned about noon unto the court, and representing the same unto the King, they did with very home and earnest importunity, and with a sort of violent exhortation, press his Majesty to submit to the accustomed decision of the Queen's complaint: And next, that for the good and preservation of the State, he would immediately send for his brother, and declare him his Coadjutor in the Government. But the
King

King turning away with extream obstinacy from these proposals, at two of the clock they sent the Duke *de Cadaval* to bring his Highness unto the palace, who being in a readiness came immediately thither, attended with an innumerable train of people, at which the King taking a fright, and withdrawing himself would have made an escape. But all those things being before provided for, the soldiers and guards were immediately dispersed into all corners and avenues of the palace. Three of the persons were seized that would have assisted his Majesty to have got away, and the King himself became confined to a particular room; so that seeing himself in this estate, he presently sent word unto the Council, that they might proceed towards the Infant as they thought fit. Whereupon the Senate or Common Council of *Lisbon* being there present, as also the Tribune, and the twenty-four representatives of the people (which are one out of every company of the tradesmen) they marched forth into the open street, and there among the multitude proclaimed the Infant Governor of the Kingdom, of the Arms, and the Justice thereof. Many of the people dispersed themselves into other streets, and im-

proved this so far, as to cry *Viva Dom Pedro Rey de Portugal*. But it is remarkable that all this passed without tumult, or effusion of any blood. The King, when it was night, continuing in great apprehensions, and with only a person or two about him, (to persuade, as I suppose, what the occasion required) he was induced (voluntarily, as is said) to sign unto a free renunciation of the kingdom and government unto his brother; reserving only to himself the duchy of *Braganza*, and 100000 crowns a year; which being sent and signified to the Infant and Council, was presently (and with all modesty) accepted and ratified by them. And upon this renunciation, or, as they call it, denunciation, there was a form of letters presently drawn up and dispatched to all the tribunals of *Lisbon*, and to all the judicatures of the kingdom, unto whom the Infant, signifying this his Majesty's pleasure towards him, required all to give their obedience accordingly.

After his Majesty had signed the aforementioned paper, there was another paper offered him to set his hand unto; which was an acknowledgment of the verity of the Queen's complaint, and a declaration of the nullity of the marriage

riage. But this he refused to sign, saying, That he had many scruples of conscience therein, and would first take advice for the settlement of his mind. After this his Majesty was conveyed to his bedchamber, where he still remains locked up with two or three of his inferior servants to attend him, and a strict guard upon all the doors, beyond the possibility of any escape. The Infant this same night takes possession of the palace; and while he is at his rest, most of the Privy Council, as well as a multitude of other followers, continued there all night to honour or to guard his person. The next morning being yesterday, he falls early to the signing of several dispatches; having called to his service *Pedro Viera da Silva*, who was Secretary of State in the Queen-mother's time, and all the dispatches run as they did in her time, that is, in the name of the King, but signed Infant.

The several tribunals came the same morning to acknowledge him, and I was also there, as likewise was the Envoy of *France*, to give him the *Parabien*; and when I told his Highness that there offered an opportunity for *England*, and that I desired to communicate to his

Majesty these mutations in that form his Highness should command me; he told me he would himself give an account thereof. He gave audience in the very same form as the King was wont to do, the Counsellors of State standing round about the room. I asked his Secretary in what form letters were to be directed unto him, who told me with this title of *Dominus Petrus Infans et Regens Portugalliae*; and when he told me the form aforementioned, how he signed his papers, his tongue slipped into what I suppose is intended, and what will shortly come to pass, that all things are to run in his own name. This addition will be when the three estates are assembled; which though formerly designed for the first of *January*, the Marquis *de Sande* told me that he supposed they would meet in ten days in order to have the Infant sworn Prince of *Portugal*: And though the Marquis be very scrupulous to believe that the title of King will be taken from *Don Alfonso* during his life; yet the common voice is, that at the meeting of the Cortes the Infant will be declared and crowned King, and the King confined to some place of security, to pass his days upon a slender pension.

As

As for the Queen, the messages are so many that pass and repass between her and the Infant, that as no body doubts the co-operation of their Counsels in this whole affair, so almost all are convinced that a marriage is speedily intended, and that the heat of love on either side has caused this change to anticipate the meeting of the Cortes. Those who argue against the marriage, and that the Infant will never espouse one who hath so treated her husband, are answered by others, That first the Queen hath undoubtedly some promise from him, which hath put her upon this vigorous agitation: Next that she is fair and desirable, and here at hand, so that *Portugal* may have an Heir before another wife can be so much as found: And, which is the fatal stroke of all, that the kingdom is in no capacity to refund unto her her portion of eight hundred thousand *French* Crowns; insomuch that it is confidently said, the Clergy will dispatch out of hand their ceremonies in nullifying the marriage, and then that this second one, needing no dispensation from *Rome*, will receive no other delay, than what is necessary to give the King of *France* an account thereof. But herein I only write the

LETTERS of

most prevalent opinions; time will best of all discover the truth. Only what I fear and foresee is, that, should this marriage go forward, *Portugal* will undoubtedly continue longer under the captivity of the *French*. This is the present State of this Court. I kiss your Lordship's hands, and am,

My Lord,

Your's &c.

Lisbon, Nov.

$\frac{15}{25}$ 1667.

ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

Sir Robert Southwell to Lord Arlington.

MY LORD,

THOUGH I have already sufficiently tired your Lordship, yet I will add what this afternoon hath produced, which is the arrival of seven of the *Brazil* fleet, two from *Bætica*, two from *Pernambuco*, and three from the *Rio de Janiero*; and these report, that having set out forty-four in company, and a large East-India-man with them, where-

whereupon was the late Governour of *Brazil* the Conde *de Obedos*, whose time was there expired, he finding the ship over-laden, returned back with her, and four more, so that thirty-nine came in company together, till that three days ago they were separated by a tempest; but the rest are expected to drop in every hour.

To what I have already written your Lordship upon the mutations here, I may add, (seeing the ships have not yet set sail,) that a good part of the Privy Council are exceedingly dissatisfied with the Infant's late proceedings. For whereas the message of the Council unto him was to come and serve the King, and assist him in that manner as the Conde *de Castelmelhor* did, without the least thoughts of deposing him, the persons sent to his Highness met him upon the way, with three or four thousand people already entering the palace, whereof he immediately took possession, and of the government, without stopping at the proposal of the Council. But availing himself afterwards of that consent which the King in a terrified condition seemed to give, signing first unto one declaration, and then some hours after to another of more extent, which made over
to

to the Infant the sovereign jurisdiction of the kingdom, (and all things but the naked title,) which the same decree calls a spontaneous resignation. And this being no sooner done, the King was conveyed unto a particular room under the guards for that night, and the next day for more security, all the doors about him were walled up, saving one to enter, where the guards still remain and the King only attended with three or four inferiour servants. At this proceeding not only many of the sober Nobility, but very many also of the Infant's own party remain exceedingly scandalized, saying it was immaturity, and harshly done; and though the same fortune in effect would have befallen his Majesty at the meeting of the Cortes, yet there the proceeding would have been more specious, methodical, and of better aspect towards the Infant than this, which hath nothing to excuse it from open violence. However having got the whole power into his hands, he finds a general obedience, and those who approved not the way, submit to the thing; but with impatience attend the meeting of Cortes, who by their approbation must then sanctify all these proceedings;

proceedings; for till then they are, as they confess, in a state of mortal sin.

The messengers of love between his Highness and the Queen are in a perpetual motion and intercourse, and the intentions of marriage are in the public voice unquestionable. The Canons of the Cathedral have already named three Judges for deciding the Queen's complaint about the nullity of her marriage, who are the old Bishop of *Targa*, the Bishop elect of *Elvas*, and the Vicar General: The first and last persons, sufficiently inclinable to flubber over the business, as she would have it; but the second a learned rigorous man without mercy, whom the Queen apprehends will pursue the rule of search and inspection; against which she is very averse, and already pleads the prerogative of her quality to excuse her from the common method of proceeding. And in contemplation hereof, the same night that the Infant entered the palace, and before these Judges were chosen, there were seized and are now in hold three of those wenches which the King commonly made use of, as also a young man who tended the King below the girdle in those ceremonies, which this hot country makes customary to its inha-

inhabitants; and these were provided as a stock of witnesses, to put a final decision, by their testimonies, on the impotency of the King: Whereby her Majesty might come off the easier, and make a declaration to commute for that mechanick way of inspection. The procurators she hath chosen are the Duke *de Cadaval* and the Conde *de Santa Cruz* her Major-Domo; both of them persons that love to be busied, full of action, but little conduct.

The King (it is said) is extreemly exasperated against her, and continues to profess the validity of his marriage, and that she shall not so soon return triumphant to the palace, as she expects. And it is said that some body having put it into his head, he is fully resolved to refuse any Judges that shall here be chosen, but will have the cause remitted unto *Rome*; which threatning both length and hazard to the affair, does perplex her Majesty exceedingly, and puts her upon sending religious men to change and mollify the temper of the King, and induce him to submit all to the determination of Judges here on the place; that is, unto two appeals after the first sentence, which when they shall all concur will be of sufficient validity,

lidity, and easily approved in *Rome*, if any scruple should be afterwards made. But as yet I have not heard, that any body dares undertake to be Procurator for the King.

This action of the Queen's retiring into a convent so abruptly, is the subject of great discourse; not but that it has been long suspected, and much longer designed, but yet in a very different way. For it was laid down that, after the Cortes met, and should begin to question the capacity of the King for government, that they should yet proceed farther to make the purpose of deposing him more plausible, (for a weak and rattle headed father might beget an understanding son,) and therefore they were to fall in the next place upon the point of his impotency, which was necessary to concur with the former defect; because if this were confessed, and apparent, yet if he had skill to rule, this alone could not disturb his government. Wherefore the Cortes were for information in this case, after they had controverted the other, to press and importune the Queen to give them a *Dezemganno* in what did so fundamentally import the state; and in this method

method she might first have retired into a convent, and being even there pursued by the same instances and public solicitation, she might with all that dress which modesty required, confess her despair of issue. And thus it was at first designed; but whether love or art hath precipitated those resolutions, it is not yet apparent. Only this her confessor, the busy Jesuit that takes upon him the burthen of this affair, saith, as does her Majesty also, that conscience would no longer permit so unlawful a co-habitation. Yet his reverence whispered to a friend, that had her Majesty retired while the King was actually falling, that then to say she left him for conscience sake, would have been laught at, as a thing of necessity, and not of choice. But what the good zealous father could have also added is, that such a passive proceeding would not have merited so much with the Infant, as this breaking the ice, and by a publication of so notorious a defect in her husband, open and facilitate the way to the Infant's desired station. And inasmuch as his Highness did so immediately avail himself thereof, it is believed that some of his party instil-

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led this resolution into the *French* cabal, and that thereupon they fell to work. Her Majesty lives very gay and chearful in the convent, is seldom from the grate, her visitants being many. Monsieur *Verjeux* is designed for *France* to give his most Christian Majesty a true account of these disasters, and to return immediately. But he is first to see some favourable steps in the business of the nullity. The commander of the *French* Squadron in this Port having declared his orders to call here and obey any commands to be laid upon him, he does yet continue in harbour by order of the Queen; but unto what end, and for how long, is not known.

The Infant hath already issued some plausible orders to reform the extravagancy of habit, commanding all to go in black, with other things of like nature. And he is every morning at the Chappel, as his father was wont to be, whose memory being dear to this nation, he resolves to imitate, in all the method of his government.

Four days ago two large parties of horse were sent to find out and seize the Conde de *Castelmelhor*, and *Henrique Henriquez de Miranda*, who, if they

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they do not escape their hands, will infallibly be brought to a public execution. I humbly kiss your Lordship's hands.

My Lord,

Your's &c.

Lisbon, Nov,

$\frac{1}{28}$ 8th 1667.

ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

Sir Robert Southwell to the Earl of Sandwich Ambassador at Madrid.

May it please your Excellency,

ON Wednesday last the Reserve frigate arrived here, appointed to call and give me the convenience of passing unto *Tanger*, and from thence home; or otherwise to take me up at her return from that place. But though I formerly had much desire to see *Tanger*, and on the supposition of my going thither, have orders sent me to examine all prize accounts &c. yet being now also most expressly instructed to make in this Court an utmost effort for the

the residue of the Queen's portion, and to demand present payment of some good part thereof; I find that putting in ballance his Majesty's services, it is of more importance that I spend the short time I have to stay in these parts, in the pursuit of this. And for the curiosity I formerly had, it is much cooled by the present season of the year, and by ten bleedings of late, which hath a little ruffled my health.

As soon as it was voiced in this place, that I was upon my departure, the friends and party I have here made, zealous for an agreement with *Spain*, as also the *Spanish* Gentlemen that are in prison, have importuned me to dispatch one messenger more to your Excellency, to represent, (and my own reason doth exceedingly agree therewith) that if *Spain* mean at all to come unto a round determination of making peace with *Portugal*, and treating from King to King, as very many letters unto this place have declared, there can no time or season be so propitious for the success of such an overture, as now at the assembly of the three estates of the kingdom, which are to meet on the first of *January* next. And as, according to the style of this country, those assemblies

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blies are usually very short (because they are of vast power and hold in suspense the regal authority) so it is almost desperate, if after their dissolution any offers from *Spain* may take effect. For besides the Marquiss de *Marialva*, the Marquiss de *Sande*, and others (still remaining principal men) have signed unto the league with *France*, so the marriage between the Infant and the Queen (which is driving furiously on) will preserve in this kingdom the *French* faction, at least for a considerable time, in full force and vigour. And thus much the Marquiss d' *Eliche*, and Don *Aniello de Guzman*, do earnestly (as they tell me) acquaint their friends withall by this occasion; and would by no means have me omit this express, as a remedy against all accidents; although they say that Mr. *Godolphin* was once ready to come away, with full orders in this affair, and might have been before this time on the place, but that your Excellency was pleased to embrace the journey, and that thereupon some further delay hath been occasioned for your Excellency's preparation. I myself have had two particular motives hereunto; the one upon supposition that before your Excellency might depart from
Madrid

Sir ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

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Madrid, you might receive his Majesty's directions of revocation (whereof I am told by my Lord *Arlington's* letters of *November* the 9th) and might perhaps thereupon alter your resolutions of passing into this kingdom, and Mr. *Godolphin* also his, by being appointed to fix at *Madrid*. The other motive is, that seeing his Majesty hath commanded me to press so vigorously for the residue of the portion, and that I see the beggary of this court in the present state of things so unapt to correspond with my solicitations, and that nothing but the agreement with *Spain* is well able to put them into a condition, as well as a mind to give compliance, I would therefore omit no industry that might contribute unto his Majesty's expectations.

I send the bearer *John Sampson* upon the *Reserve* frigate to *Cadiz*, and appoint him to return hither by the same conveyance, she having orders from his Royal Highness, after discharging some things at *Tangier*, to continue eight days at *Cadiz*, for the taking with her such merchandize as may in that time be ready; and though it would have been a much shorter way to have sent him to your Excellency by the frontiers, yet the *English* Officers from *Elvas* ac-

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quaint me, that as first there went private orders from my Lord *Schomberg*, to let no man enter from *Badajox* (on a report spread that Mr. *Godolphin* was actually there) so now they tell me, that publick orders are come, and dispersed thorough all the frontiers, that no Ambassador, Envoy, nor other person shall be permitted to enter the outer guards. But hereof I make no complaint at the court, until the occasion of somebody's coming may require it, because the matter is of love, and upon that account the *French* interest is very predominant.

I will only trouble your Excellency with one particular more relating to *England*; which is, that when I understood the misfortune of my Lord Chancellor (well able to vary some maxims in the court) and saw that the peace was made, which might produce much alteration in the kingdom, I was in great suspense whether his Majesty's mind of giving his guaranty to the accommodation of these two kingdoms, might continue the same; and though by my last letters from the court, I may infer, that his Majesty varies not in that point, yet if it shall so fall out, that neither your Excellency nor Mr. *Godolphin*

dolphin pass into this kingdom, and yet that her Catholick Majesty, and the Council of *Spain* shall think fit to make use of the approaching opportunity of Cortes in this place, and of my single diligence, in what I am able to perform before my departure, I shall humbly intreat your Excellency, and will wholly rely upon it, to give me full information as to the state and continuance of his Majesty's mind for allowing his guaranty, and the pursuing of this agreement; which if effected, will, besides the money his Majesty expects, redeem these people from the servitude of the *French*, and lay an everlasting obligation on them to adhere to his Majesty's interests. In this and in all other necessary points, I expect your Excellency's good directions for my conduct, if any thing happen for me to do. However in any case I beseech your Excellency to dispatch this bearer with that speed, which the attendance of his Majesty's frigate (whereon I must embark for *England*) will require: And if nothing fall out of moment fit to detain me longer in this kingdom, I do humbly offer myself to be your Excellency's Harbinger where I am going; desiring

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in that small sphere which I act, to serve your Excellency, with all the passion and observance, which becomes,

My Lord,

Your's, &c.

Lisbon, Nov. 26, }
Dec. 4, } 1667

ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

Sir Robert Southwell to Lord
Arlington.

Lisbon Dec. $\frac{1}{11}$, 1667.

MY LORD,

THIS place hath of late abounded with extraordinary accidents; as my three dispatches of the last month will have related to your Lordship already. I have another to add of a very deplorable quality. For on *Wednesday* last (the 7th instant) the poor Marquis *de Sande* was murdered, and that by a mistake, the mischief being intended for another.

The story of that accident is thus related: There is one Dom *Francisco de Lima*

Lima, who having spent above twenty years in the *East-Indies*, returned home some fifteen months ago, and having brought with him one hundred thousand pounds sterling at least, of his own acquisition, he was upon a marriage with one of the daughters of the Vice-count *de Ponte de Lima* (the King's Master of his horse) of whose family *Dom Francisco* is, though of a weaker branch and coming in the wrong way. However this wealth and his own good deportment put him here into a considerable esteem with all, unless it were with the *Conde de Mesquitella*, a young Gentleman of the house of *Castro*, who, having already married one of the Vice-count's daughters, was touch'd in punctillio to have the other disposed so low, and resolved to forbid the nuptials in this extraordinary way. And to this intent, furnishing himself with half a dozen Bravo's, retainers to his kinsman *Dom Joanno de Castro* (an extravagant young spark who was privy to the design) he with them and another young comrade put himself on horseback, and so in ambuscado for the execution intended. The *Marquiss de Sande* being neighbour to *Dom Francisco*, and both of them leaving the court about nine a clock at night, the Mar-

quifs went with him in his litter, and passing through the *Ruffia* over against St. *Dominick's* church, and almost at home, the horsemen rushed out from under the arches, pierced the back end of the litter with their swords, and gave the Marquifs five or fix mortal wounds so suddenly, that he only cried out, *Jesus, Confession*, which is the word all use in the extremity of life. Dom *Francisco* finding the Marquifs tumbled forward upon him and dead immediately, got out of the litter, and he receiving only a blow on the hilt of his sword, the horsemen fled. It was exceeding dark, yet one of the litter-men discerned that some of these malefactors were servants to Dom *Joanno de Castro*, therefore his house (which is a little remote from the town) being by the Infant's orders presently surrounded both with Soldiers and the Officers of Justice, there were seized a dozen servants, who by torment have confessed the fact. But Dom *Joanno*, hiding under his wife's fardingal at the time of the search, hath since made his escape with the said Conde *de Mesquitella*. But the Infant uses the utmost diligence for their apprehending. The Marquifs *de Sande* was the next day buried; and as the case was

was very lamentable, so indeed was it proportionally lamented.

There are some circumstances which persuade many to believe that this was not a mistake; for the Marquis had for several nights before come in Dom *Francisco's* litter, and the preceeding night they having had notice that such people attended about the Marquis's house, and that one in a vizard had come to the Marquis's porch, and there put out the lamp; they both meeting this advice in their way home, came forth of the litter, and walking upon their defence, nothing fell out that night, and so they little suspected that any mischief was intended them. But it is further added, that the marriage aforesaid was once quite broke off by reason of the impatience and dishonour which the Conde *de Mesquitella* expressed to his father-in-law, should it take effect; and that the Marquis *de Sande* was he who had brought on the thing afresh, and very near unto success; and therefore that this misfortune was intended for him.

The loss of this Gentleman makes a great gap in the Privy-Council, as to the cognizance of foreign affairs, there being

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The loss of this Gentleman makes a great gap in the Privy-Council, as to the cognizance of foreign affairs, there being

being no man left who had those informations he had: And as therein he was chiefly relied upon, so was it his principal sphere; for neither with the King's party, or the Infant's, or the Queen's hath he been admitted into the intrigue; which wrought much upon his mind, and in his private discourses he hath shewed how far he concurred in these late changes, which was barely to bring the Infant into publick business, to the service and assistance of the King, and to the same office and like extent of power that the Conde de Castelmelbor held. What hath exceeded these limits, was beyond his approbation or hearty concurrence: And in the proceedings of the Queen he hath had no mixture at all.

The *French* King hath in him lost the chiefest abettor of his interests in this court, to the advancement of which he always maintained a strict and inward correspondence with the Abbot de St. Romain and my Lord Schomberg. But towards *England* all his affections were grown cold, if not utterly dead; there remaining only some shadow of respect, and that was all. And this I name, that his Majesty may the better understand

derstand how to estimate the loss.
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My Lord,

Your's, &c.

ROB. SOUTHWELL.

Sir Robert Southwell to Lord
Arlington.

Lisbon, Dec. $\frac{2}{25}$, 1667.

MY LORD,

I Make use of this opportunity to give
your Lordship the continuation of
what passeth in this place. In my last
I mentioned the King's averfeness to
confess any thing about the invalidity of
the marriage: But being on the third
instant to wait upon the Queen, and
present her Majesty with a letter which
came from the Queen my mistress by
the *Reserve* frigate, she willingly enter-
tained me almost an hour at the grate,
upon her own condition and other acci-
dents. She told me the unspeakable crosses
and discomforts she had with the King, and
sometimes to that degree of outrage that
he once put his hand on his knife to do
her a mischief, as she lay in bed;
though

though (said she) finding that I answered him resolutely, he excused the matter with saying, he meant to draw it against himself: That he came not to her bed sometimes in two months together; and that as she herself could in conscience no longer forbear to take notice of the nullity of the marriage by retiring into that convent as she did, so the King had now plainly confessed and attested the same himself. She told me, that as I was on my voyage for *England*, so she also (as soon as the sentence should be given) was departing for *France*. But when I replied, that her Majesty must be content to be crossed in that particular, and not to despair that all the marriages of *Portugal* were equally unfortunate, she only smiled, saying, That she had no quarrel at all to the country or the people, but had received always great testimony of their respects. I adventured thus far, because I knew she had the day before discoursed plainly with Cardinal *Orfino's* Secretary, whether it were absolutely necessary to have a dispensation from *Rome* for her marriage with the Infant; and supposing that it were, the difficulty was foreseen that the Pope would not name the Infant as
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son of the late King *John*. Therefore to overcome that impediment, the said Secretary proposed it for feasible, that his Holiness would be soon brought to an indirect concurrence, by devolving all the power touching dispensations in marriage unto the Cardinal *Orsino*, for the space of twenty-four hours, or some such limited time, wherein the Cardinal might dispatch the bulls for this marriage in the form requisite: And though this *tour* were applauded, yet the Church-men have been hard at work to find it needless to go to *Rome*. And on her Majesty's part, nothing persuades it more than the insecurity of the marriage, unless ratified from thence. And this is the point at present which is most perplexing, and hitherto undetermined; for as to the other, touching the nullity of her marriage with the King, that seems not to be clogged with any impediments, but that the Judges, will, by the end of this month, pronounce their sentence, taking it for granted, that the King's declaration saves her Majesty from inspection, though as to himself it determines nothing; and therefore the *Se-raglio* are now upon their affidavits to that effect. Her Majesty told me of this declaration with great particularity
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and content; and when I wished for a copy of it to send into *England*, she called immediately to her Confessor, who brought it; and it was very grateful to her to hear that I would dispatch it to your Lordship. She often repeated with how much frankness the King signed unto it, calling for a bible to swear the same. However it is fit to acquaint your Lordship, that several Church-men had been employed unto the King to bring him to this business, but all without effect; for he still affirmed to them that he had deflowered the Queen; and would say to others, that she should not so soon return triumphant to the palace as she expected. Yet one Dom *Pedro de Almeida* a hectoring blade (that was gracious with him, but secretly won over to the other side) finding that his Majesty bewailed nothing so much in his present confinement, as the want of going abroad into the field, and recreating himself from one good place to another, he assured him, that as soon as he signed that paper he might go where he pleased: And so signing it on this persuasion, he would presently have gone abroad; but finding himself continued in *statu quo*, he is notably incensed, and having chased Dom *Pedro* from
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from him, he disavows the paper. Yet whether this will have any operation on the Judges I do not hear, and can hardly guess; seeing the day it was signed, there came whole troops from the court to give her Majesty the *Parabien*, as if a victory had been to be celebrated. The voice in general is, that the nullity will be declared before the Cortes meet; and then upon her Majesty's preparation to go for *France*, the Cortes are to come and persuade both her and his Highness to make a marriage for the publick convenience of the kingdom. However, some there are who look on the matter as very ticklish; and two days since, one that had conference with the *French* cabal, discovered some perplexities in them, as if all things did not march the pace they would have them.

The King in this imprisonment shews himself in all kinds of humours; sometimes with resentment he considers the state he is in, and apprehends that something worse may fall out; at other times he is (as the Queen told me) much pleased with his leisure, and that he is rid of her and the dispatch of business; which are the two things in the world (said she) he hated most.

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I must not omit to tell your Lordship of one question which the Queen asked me; which was, whether the Queen of *England* was not divorced from his Majesty, which she said she had heard; as also that the Duchess was in like manner from his Royal Highness, and all the children declared illegitimate. Your Lordship may imagine in what a confusion I was to hear her discourse on this subject, and the Industry I used to efface these impressions; adding for one conviction, the strictness of the commands I had now newly received, to solicit the residue of the portion. Unto which her Majesty presently applied the discourse, pleading the poverty of the kingdom, more sensibly than one who had talked of her departure from it. But as to the report aforesaid concerning the Queen our mistress, it is hardly credible how hotly it was discoursed in this town about ten days ago; and even that her Majesty was already embarked; and it is now in like manner flown all over the kingdom; and though I do believe that some wild letters have from the *Portuguese* in *England* been writ hither to this effect, yet I am sure the *French* have fomented it with all the vigour

gour they could. I humbly kiss your Lordship's hands.

My Lord,

Your's &c.

ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

*Sir Robert Southwell to Lord
Arlington.*

MY LORD,

Lisb. Dec. 1³/₃ 1667.

HAVING already in two other letters represented what concerns the motions of this Court, there only remains to tell your Lordship on what grounds I have forbore to pass unto *Tanger*, and what reasons moved me to send a servant by the way of *Cadiz* unto *Madrid*. In both which particulars your Lordship will I hope have satisfaction, when you vouchsafe to read the inclosed copy of what I lately writ to my Lord *Sandwich*. As for the prize accounts of *Tanger*, I have written earnestly for them, and that they be put into such form as may give the Lords Commissioners satisfaction; but still they will remain liable to examination.

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As for the remainder of the portion, I here inclose your Lordship a copy of the memorial I have presented to the Infant. I have used the best diligences I am able in preparing to this business such of the Privy Council as bear the sway. The Marquiss *de Sande*, with whom I discoursed thereon before his death, was very froward and captious in the business, exalting much the value of the houses, horses, and cannon of *Tanger*, naming the pay of six months and of three months which his Majesty should have defrayed to the *English* party, and other accounts; so as although he did not plainly say unto me, that all was even, yet he had the conscience to tell Monsieur *St. Romain* as much; as the Monsieur did the last night in some discourse acquaint me. From the Duke *de Cadavall*, the Marquiss *de Marialva*, and the Secretary of State I have the kindest words imaginable; though the Marquiss hath already told me, that when the business shall be debated in Council, it will probably be ordered that the account of all be first stated, and the things of *Tanger* be brought unto estimation. I told his Excellency, that if this alone should

should be resolved, it would be a very fruitless and unpleasing answer to the King my master. But that if such things were to come into account, it would be more fair to put some estimate upon them, and so state and acknowledge the overplus as a debt clear and indisputable, and fit to be paid out of hand unto his Majesty; and afterwards at more leisure to have the true value and computation of the things aforesaid adjusted by persons appointed on both sides for that end. If I can but find the justice and compliance of his Excellency suitable to his professions, it will be well.

Here was lately much discourse about chusing some great Ambassador for *France*; and several persons were in nomination, which seemed a compliance with what the *French* Envoy had instigated them to, about sending a person to the great treaty of accommodation, which he says will be held this winter at *Paris*; his true aim being by this expedient to divert all attention from the offers which have so long been reported to be on the way from *Madrid*, and which infallibly will be embraced at the meeting of the Cortes, if

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by that time such ample offers come. But this last post hath almost broke the heart of the *Spanish* prisoners, to whom it is told, that my Lord *Sandwich* being to set out on the 19th of the last month there came a messenger to him from *England* the day before; and so his journey unto this place looks desperate. I am so unfortunate as my letters from *Madrid* since *July* last have miscarried, (if any were writ unto me.)

The *French* Squadron this day fell down the river, in order to set sail; though the Commander, Monsieur *Almerack*, hath said, he was not to be at *Toulon* until *March*, but that in the mean time he was to cruize in the *Mediterranean*, as well on the coast of *Barbary* as that of *Spain*.

I humbly kifs your Lordship's hands, and am,

My Lord,

Your's &c.

ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

Sir

Sir ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

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Sir Robert Southwell to the Duke
of Ormond.

Lisbon, Dec. 1st, 1667.

MY LORD,

HAVING now an opportunity to repair the miscarriage of my last, and hopes to enjoy (together with peace) the free exercise of my observance to your Grace, I presume to inclose unto Sir George Lane, not only a transcript of my former about the fate of my negotiation, but what I have since added to my Lord *Arlington* concerning the distempers of this government.

These two cases, if any body were so much at leisure as to contemplate the affairs of this distance, do not improperly fall under the same view. For although they look very different, and that the upper rank of people in this kingdom concurred generally to the rejecting the agreement with *Spain* in the terms it was offered; yet a party of them, (being persons out of request,) did afterwards so dexterously apply this rejection to the vulgar discontents, as that the cry of the people rise up against the ministers in power, and no-

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thing would do but crucifying or reformation at the least. The substance of both concerns, (to free your Grace from the importunity of my other papers,) is in short as followeth.

His Majesty did in the year 166 $\frac{3}{4}$ employ Sir *Richard Fanshawe* his Embassador to *Madrid*, not only to amend the loose conditions of peace between *England* and *Spain*, but to labour an agreement between *Spain* and *Portugal*; as his Majesty had by his articles of marriage undertaken. The *Spaniards* for almost two years had been deaf unto all propofals; when at last observing that *France* made great preparations, and fearing the storm would immediately fall upon themselves, they hastily thrust into Sir *Richard Fanshawe's* hands, (and he too easily received) treaties of compliance in both his affairs; but the conditions imperfect, and not coming up unto the end of either. And as this fell out, when it was high time for *England* to apprehend the *French* practices in favour of *Holland*, so did his Majesty then grow particularly intent on the union of these two people, that their alliance might thereby become valuable unto him: And in this conjuncture had

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I the fortune to be sent over to bear a part in the work.

But while Sir *Richard Fanshaw* came to experiment that branch of his treaty which related to *Portugal*, and returned again back to *Madrid*, to repair the error of that first digestion; *France* declaring in the interim against *England*, *Spain* is absolved from its fears, and by a strange infatuation rejects as much all terms of alliance with his Majesty, as it undervalues any further advance towards the agreement with *Portugal*. Hereupon *Portugal* despairs of the point in issue, which was the title of King: Delays, poverty, and the *French* charms persuade them to yield themselves up into the hands of his most Christian Majesty; to whom in consideration of one hundred thousand Pistols a year, they tie themselves in a league offensive and defensive for the space of ten years, and the articles were signed in the month of *March* last past. This proceeding, although it did not satisfy, yet did it not much surprise his Majesty; for by the frequent representations I had made, as well of the difficulties in the business as the partiality of the chief ministers here to the *French* affairs, he plainly foresaw the fatality of the event:

And having no more to expect in this place, he was pleased to order my revocation in *July* last.

Here I attended an opportunity for my return; when in the month of *August* following there began some divisions in the Court, which took rise, as well from the designs of the Infant, as from the discontents of the Queen; and both from the originals which I shall here explain.

The King and the Infant being bred up the most at random that ever young Princes were; the King irrecoverable because of his infirmity, and the Infant favourite to the Queen-mother; her Majesty attempted to put the Crown on the younger's head; but the King, animated by some of his attendants, presently assumed the government, and put his mother into a monastery. Ever since which time the Infant, having lived under a harsh and jealous eye, and therefore in a state of discontent, all persons of consideration, who gained not their process with the King, brought their shrugs to his Highness, and thought their respects unto him, a sort of revenge against the Court.

His Highness had in his service some principal persons about him, who devised

vised nothing so passionately, as the ruin of those who supported the King's authority, and indeed the overthrow of all that fabrick; so that although the profit of their attendance on him was altogether fruitless and titular, yet what they enjoyed by it in the pleasure and opportunity of combination, rewarded all. Here was the resort of all, with whom the world did not go to their mind. Every man here discoursed licentiously of their burden, so that a revolution being thought on and projected as the universal cure, nothing but an opportunity was wanting to give fire unto the train. In the mean time two things much concurred in favour of this end; which were the King's continuance in his exorbitant courses, and the Infant's exemplary and reclaimed life; things which being obvious, pre-engaged the common people with as much irreverence to the one, as veneration to the other. So that the only thing dreadful in this undertaking, was the spirit and authority of the Queen, sufficient to blast or give success to all the contrivance, according as her own fancy or the humour of the stars should incline her.

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As to her Majesty, she coming from *France* to seek a husband and to be made a Queen, could not but be surprised to find at the same time a total disappointment in her bed, and a perfect insignificancy in the government. For as to the first, it appears by the sequel that an accident, which befel the King in his childhood, of being blasted, and ever since paralytical on his whole right side, did not only crack and shatter his understanding, but made him impotent as to the use of a virgin at least. The upper defect and that which concerned his intellectuals the Queen was no stranger unto, even in *France*; and inasmuch as she found in herself an extraordinary appetite to govern, that was rather a provocation than a hindrance to her enterprize. But when she came upon the place, and found that she had neither the enjoyment of a wife, nor the so much longed for power of a Queen; and that such two natural heats within her were thus extinguished, the one by fatality, and the other by oppression, (for the King resigned up himself and the absolute dominion of all to the *Comte de Castelmelhor* his favourite and minister of state) she secretly combined with the Infant, and communicating all her discontents, they both chalk'd out
their

their parts, and resolved to pull this minister and all his dependants to the ground. This perhaps was their first draft and designation; but inasmuch as it was visible, that if there were no Conde, there would be no King; and consequently that the Infant as legitimate successor would reap the harvest of all, she, to save her stake, either proposes or accepts conditions of marriage with his Highness; and it is most likely that there past as many assurances to this end, as the secrecy of such a confederation would admit.

To set the wheel on work, the Queen began with the Secretary of State the Conde's creature and instrument of trust, and framing with him a quarrel *D'Allemagne*, she got him banished for the unmannerly words he never spoke; and having by this approach dug a stone out of the fabrick wherein the mine might play, the Infant presently accuses the Conde of a design to poison him; which raised so hideous a clamour among the people, as the desire of change or love to an heir apparent, was likely to create. And the Queen thereupon entring as mediatrix to appease this broil, the Conde is also as infallibly sent into banishment. All the
oppo-

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opposition of rage and fears in the King could not hinder the Conde to be torn from his side, when the people were now thought to menace a tumult against the palace, if in case he did not depart. With the absence of these two persons the court began to crumble away; some that they might not be compelled, and others because they were so: Insomuch that the King growing naked, and in want of sufficient confidants, caused the Secretary to return to his service, and did determine soon after to knock off some of the most surly mutineers of the rising faction. But the Queen growing incensed to see her foe returned, and the Infant to see his abettors in danger, he comes to the court with so vast and supernumerary a train, animated there by the countenance of the Queen, that although all were not then done which was intended; yet was the King so ruffled, and those about him put into such terror, that the same night the Secretary of State fled away; and several others, observing the inconvenience of loyalty, thought it high time to fall off. Now were the people incited afresh to press the King by speeches and papers to assemble the three estates, in order to a total reformation of abuses

ses in the government, threatening plainly to pay no more taxes towards the war, if his Majesty should persist in denying their request. Hereupon writs issue to all places to make their elections; and this assembly, (which they call Cortes and which resembles our parliament) is appointed to meet on the first of *January* following. Great industry is used, that all the Procurators chosen, and to be sent, be of the Infant's livery; for in this assembly was to be acted not only what concerned the Infant's exaltation, but the part also (and that with design of much decorum,) which concerned the transformation of the Queen.

But so it falls out, that her Majesty, to the wonder of all, and by what impulse is not yet certainly known, precipitates this intendment, so far as that on the $\frac{11}{11}$ of the last month she locks herself up in a nunnery, and from thence declaring that she was still a virgin, sent to solicit the King for her portion, that she might return to *France*, and to the Clergy to disannul the marriage, that she might have no impediment in her voyage.

It is said the motive she took for this anticipation, is chiefly legible in what followed

followed two days after. For then the Infant with some thousands in his attendance thronged unto the palace, seized the King and took possession of the government; and it looks as if her Majesty had thought fit to shew a pass of gallantry to the Infant, seeing nothing could so break the ice for his Highness, and stupify the publick sense of his invasion, as first to have the people told this news; that as they enjoyed little satisfaction from his Majesty's present government, so neither were they to hope hereafter for any issue from his loins to ease or amend their complaints. And this accordingly had the operation intended; for every body turned their eyes with respect upon the undoubted successor, and according to the way of the world, paid their worship unto the rising sun.

Others say, that in that important point the *French* cabal were outwitted, and took for good coin what was infused from the Infants, how that if her Majesty should attend till the Cortes treated of the King's deposing, that then to give out conscience, (as she hath done) and forsake him in a falling condition, would rather look like policy, than be believed as a scruple.

And

And this scene falling more particularly to the management of her Confessor, a *French* Jesuit, a most religious incendiary, he having first himself digested the pill, made no difficulty to give his apostolical *fiat* and guarranty to the operation. But from which point of the compass soever the motive came, the Infant taking possession of the state thereupon, did not omit any of those careffes and demonstrations which were fit to make the Queen fond of the resolution she had taken; insomuch that, whether about love or business, the messengers were in a perpetual intercourse between the court and convent; so that for the first days nothing was the discourse, but immediately to annul the first marriage and to conclude the second. However now that there is almost a month's time flipt away, as it is already visible, that the pilgrimages to that holy place are grown much more thin and negligent, so the Infant seems not only involved in other contemplations, necessary for the making his entry look plausible against the meeting of the Cortes, but the religious men, that should have presently decided the Queen's cause, are fallen together by the ears among themselves, that both she

she and her party are almost at their wits end, and the whole blame of this precipitation begins to be charged on the poor Confessor. So that now her Majesty fairly begins to see into what a maze of troubles she hath woven herself, and the edge of thorns that is about her; for although (by practices) there is gotten from the imprisoned King a writing, which declares her a maid; yet the most favourable Ecclesiasticks say, it cannot save her from inspection; which is what she hath proclaimed open defiance against.

Others are of opinion, that the process (as too high and mysterious for this place,) must be sent to *Rome*; but all conclude, that for a second marriage, nothing can be done without a dispensation from thence. And here ariseth to her Majesty a cloud of obstacles; for there at *Rome*, besides that the *Pope* may deny to name the Infant in the style here expected, the influence of *Spain* will be able embroil or delay the business at least. For that in the interim, while the Infant is put to attend this marriage, and the King not able to marry again, (as he might a widow) they may hope to reap the fruits of any casualty which might happen. Or
on

on the other side, if *Spain* will give the title to *Portugal*, (as is reported they will) they can conveniently bestow also to the Infant a wife from the house of *Inspruck*, and so ruin not only her expectation, but the interest of *France* which should support it. In the mean time, if upon vexation she would really go into *France*, this kingdom will not know how to refund the eight hundred thousand Crowns of her portion: And unless the nullity of the marriage be declared, neither will it be due. All these are now the publick themes, and therefore how much they are her particular cares and the companions of her bosom is easy enough to be guessed. For to be neither maid, wife, nor widow, is at the shortest period a mysterious and perplexing estate: But at her age not to know whether ever it will be otherwise, is doubtless a very bitter cup. And yet besides these, there are other melancholy contemplations; for having painted all her happiness in the Infant's embraces, she must needs share in the difficulties he also is to overcome. His first work will be easy enough as is presumed, he being to be sworn in Cortes Prince of *Portugal*, (importing as much as heir apparent.) And 'tis likely that

the same assembly, as they are chosen, may by publick declaration or statute approve and sanctify all these late proceedings. But when it is asked, what they will do with the King, who is hitherto under close guards in his own bedchamber, 'tis beyond all their astrology to answer it. To kill him, besides the enormity, were to reduce half the royal family, and leave but one to support their hopes. To confine him to a prison for the many years he yet may live, (being but twenty-four years old,) were to erect a fatal sanctuary in the kingdom for all the malecontented to resort unto. And as for a monastery, unless he be there made a fryar and a prisoner too, he never will brook a retired life; but according to his roving and unconstant mind, fly presently to the frontiers, and there require allegiance from his army.

So that upon the neck of their late triumph at Court, and after all this successful broil upon the coast, they now find themselves on a dangerous Lee-shore. The philosopher's deformed shoes, now they are gotten, do not fit; and the reformation begins to look more troublesome, than the oppression for which it was made.

However it is to be hoped that, according to the fortunate constellation of *Portugal* and the doctrine of these people who say they are still preserved by miracle, all things will have a favourable issue, though no man yet can say or dictate how it should be. For as to the *Spaniards*, they have been so far from making any use of these distractions, that they have been for the whole time at *Madrid*, teaching themselves the selfdenial of yielding unto *Portugal* the title of King, a peace, and all that formerly was refused. His excellency my Lord *Sandwich* has been coming hither from day to day upon this errand: And notwithstanding many stops and foils, yet still it here continues, that he is to come, in hopes that notwithstanding the league with *France*, yet terms of that importance will not be refused.

On the beginning of this month here arrived (what I had long expected) a frigate to convey me home, with orders that I should first press with the utmost vigour the payment of the residue of her Majesty's portion. But I being sufficiently acquainted with the beggary of the kingdom, and that nothing but the agreement with *Spain* can put

them in the case and disposition of paying any money, I thought fit, while I should here beat upon the cold iron, and that the frigate made a trip unto *Tanger*, to dispatch away a servant to *Madrid*, to represent how infallibly their offers of peace would here find acceptance, if they came at the meetings of the Cortes: But how unfortunately and hazardous, (by reason of the *French* league and party) should they come after that assembly were dissolved.

I have chiefly proposed hereby the satisfaction of his Majesty's debt, but in part the content of my own desires; for if any thing be to come, I have some reason to bear a part in the success of the work, who have shared so much in the drudgery of it. And now I am every day attending the answer from *Spain*; which unless it contains something very near demonstration, I shall presently, (having long enough conversed with their phlegme,) embark, God willing, for *England*,

On the seventh instant there happened a fatal accident to the Marquis *de Sande*, (whom your Grace hath formerly known) for going home late in the company of another Gentleman he was
murdered

murdered by mistake: And the other sitting at the fore-end of the litter, it being his own, escaped the misfortune. The Marquiss was turned a most infected *Frenchman*: And as to these late stirs, being swelled with the opinion of his own services, and no less with envy that he wanted his own reward, he waded voluntarily in the reformation almost unto the neck; and then thinking it time to turn back, he was taken up by the stream, and continued in great perplexity to be carried on, and yet to believe that he was out of his way: but the unhappy stroke came and decided all his troubles.

I have already so much transgressed the good manners due unto a letter, that I dare not look back on some points, which the circumstances thereof might either soften or exasperate. However, in the main, I have passed between all that paint which is used on one side and the other; and have, according to the motions of the place, impartially set them down. For although truth that is so fresh and green might be dangerous elsewhere, yet unto your Grace (who vouchsafes me patronage even in my defects) I think the greatest virtue is to be inexorable.

I have

LETTERS of

I have been much comforted here, in the midst of my absence, insuccess, and other mortifications, by many gracious letters from my Lord Chancellor and my Lord *Arlington* touching his Majesty's favourable acceptance of my zeal in his service. The next happiness I aspire to in this world is your Grace's favour: And I persuade myself, that I need not doubt thereof, while I am constantly, and with all truth and veneration,

My Lord,

Your Grace's, &c.

ROBERT SOUTHWELL



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